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THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

Vol. 3, No. 8 December 1992

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

"People everywhere confuse what they read in newspapers with news.": A.J. Liebling

Free

Justicia Para Campeinos!

St. Martin' Picket Builds Solidarity

Paul Ortiz

The boycott against Chateau Ste Michelle wines brought union, church, and community members together at The Capital Food and Wine Festival held at the Saint Martin's Pavilion, Saturday, October 24th. The picket, Joined by CSM vineyard workers, drew over 100 people.

Enthusiastic picketers spread out in front of the Pavilion to leaflet and ask festival participants to honor the boycott and choose other wines. Roving pickets held signs and banners on the sidewalk facing Pacific Avenue.

Being a part of this event was a special experience. I never imagined there would be so many people who felt strongly enough to participate in a show of solidarity with the farm workers. Strength and joy surged through us because we were challenging the oppression that is so endemic to farm workers in Washington. For one day at least, the issue of farm worker poverty and the United Farm Workers battle to fight this poverty could not be ignored.

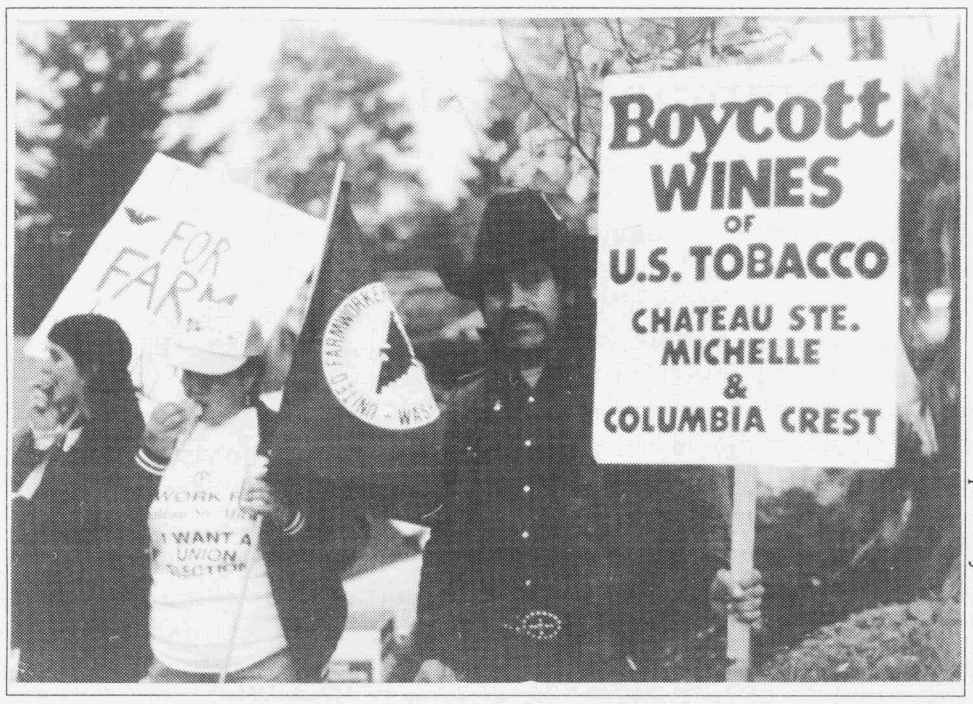

photo by Paul Ortiz

The picket was called because the Saint Martin's Alumni Association refused to honor the United Farm Workers of Washington State's (UFWWS) boycott of Stimson Lane Wines including Chateau Ste Michelle (CSM). The Alumni Association and Saint Martin's college were notified several months in advance about the boycott.

Saint Martin's Alumni Association also refused to meet with UFWWS members to discuss the boycott or answer letters concerning this refusal. One Saint Martin's student and Catholic church member wrote to the Alumni to say that "By not allowing representatives of the UFWWS to speak, Mr. Schwarz (Alumni President) and, inherently Saint Martin's College, perpetuates the oppression of these men and women."

In response to Mr. Schwarz's notion that the Alumni Association was "above politics," this person wrote that "Spirituality and politics are integral to each other according to the mandate of Jesus Christ, and as carried out by the teaching voice of the church."

...financial grants in excess of $200,000 to Saint Martin's by Chateau Ste Michelle's parent corporation, U.S. Tobacco, make 'objectivity" very lucrative.

The Food and Wine Festival Director assured picketers that he had willfully remained ignorant of the boycott so he could remain "objective." Of course, financial grants in excess of $200,000 to Saint Martin's by Chateau Ste Michelle's parent corporation, U.S. Tobacco, make 'objectivity" very lucrative.

CSM workers had a busy day. Before they joined us, they visited CSM president Allan Shoup's house in Woodinville. Shoup refused to meet with them. Rafael Guerrero, a 17 year veteran at Ste Michelle, noted that "Eventually we will push hard enough that he will have to meet with us. All we ask is that he treat us with dignity and respect."

The boycott of Chateau Ste Michelle wines hinges on dignity, respect, and democracy. CSM farm workers have been asking for the right to hold a union election for five years. CSM management and U.S. Tobacco refuse.

Student, business, and labor groups pitched in to help feed the

(Continued on back page.)

The Rest of the Story About Richard Shaffer

Sonya Bedillion

On October 15, 1992 *The Olympian* ran a front-page story about Richard Shaffer, a homeless man who had his dog, Arlo, taken from him by the Olympia Police Department. There is a lot more to the story than the reporter, Jeff Coffidis wrote down. Knowing Shaffer personally I feel it important to inform the public of the harassment he has received from the police department.

The Olympian fails edto report that Shaffer was originally returned to Olympia when he was jaywalking in Seattle and the police arrested him and ran a background check on him. When it turned out that he had a parking violation on his record from five years ago, they transported him to Thurston County to stand trial. The judge was so enraged that he threw the citation out and chastised the Seattle and Olympia Police departments for wasting the taxpayers money on prosecuting a man for such an old and outdated citation.

The Olympian also failed to tell us that when a friend of Shaffer's went to retrieve the dog, they would not release Arlo until he went and showed a sales receipt. *The Olympian* not only leaves out these facts, but goes on to exploit Richard Shaffer's character. Instead of informing the public about what has lead to his most recent bout of homelessness (he is long-term homeless you know?) *The Olympian* thinks it is more appropriate to label him an alcoholic, a drug-user with a long criminal history. What has lead to his homelessness? The same things that could make anyone of us homeless. Most people don't know he is a veteran and that after working for 15 years in Nuclear Power he is slowly dying from radiation poisoning that is eating away at his lungs. I don't mention his disability to gain your pity for the man but I do ask that he be treated with respect and basic human dignity. I have worked with and talked to many street people and I may not have liked them all or empathized with their situations, but I did respect them. In this America of plenty, I hope we can stop and remember that not everyone has a place to sleep or food to eat. Our community is working on ways to decrease the number of homeless in our streets, but something that is just as important is to treat the homeless with respect. Simple respect.

...he is a veteran and that after working for 15 years in Nuclear Power he is slowly dying from radiation poisoning that is eating away at his lungs.

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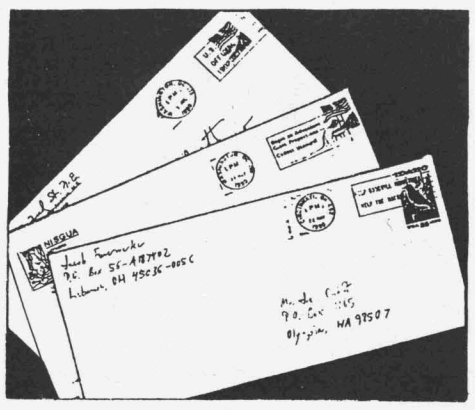

Black Unenlightened

Dear WI[m]P[s]:

If one of the marks of mythology is its transcendence of linear time ("once upon a time..."), Sarah Light's "History Lesson" is mythmaking minus the entertainment value of the brothers Grimm. This grim sister's Light history is lite history indeed. To "the invading europeans," so dastardly they don't deserve initial capitals, the "Native People" (so worthy that they do) were prey to be hunted down for the bounty on their heads. So sexist and ageist were these "brutal murderers" that a dead man brought in 80¢, a dead woman 60¢, and a dead child 40¢. These "europeans" even commit genocide in an egalitarian way! Hauling Native skulls around proved so tiring that they "switched to collecting the skins and scalps, which they called 'redskins,' of the victims."

The first permanent English settlement in America dates from 1607. The earliest known use of the word "redskin," according to my Webster's, was 1699. So the "europeans" must have been collecting those bounties as early as the seventeenth century. Remarkably, however, "cents" as units of currency first appeared in the language in 1782! By which time it is no more accurate to call the Americans "Europeans" than it is to call the Native People "Indians" (they're not from India, mind you).

Ms. Light implies that the villainous Europeans invented scalping as a bookkeeping shortcut. But ethnohistorian James Axtell has proven the pre-Columbian origins of scalping. The Europeans learned it from the Indians (the hard way, in some cases).

For Ms. Light, the bottom line and the correct line is that use of "redskin" in the name of sports teams is an "outrage, one of many" -- no doubt! -- which "must end NOW." I would have thought the institutionalized sexism and commercialism of team sports were of more concern than mere names, but for the victimologists of the left, things take second place to the names of things. The relabelled Washington Native People and Cleveland Native People might perpetrate outrages but nothing which "must end NOW" -- no hurry about the social revolution. For me, though, anything else is just a light.

Sincerely, Bob Black

Salvation Army Need

I started writing this in August 1992 at the Salvation Army Emergency Lodge in Olympia, Washington where I spent a total of seven weeks.

I observed quite a few going on's that I didn't approve of. WE were awakened at 6 a.m., breakfast is from 7 a.m. until 7:30 a m. Lunch is from 12 p.m. until 12:30 p.m. Dinner is from 6 p.m. until 6:30 p.m. From 6 a.m until 7:30 p.m., single men don't have access to water or a bathroom, except two, one is a block away and the other is seven blocks away. God structured us in a manner that after we eat, we will soon want to drink water and use the bathroom. Why won't the merchants of Thurston County pitch in and solve this problem? Also, outside the office building, other than the flower beds and sidewalk, there is seating for four persons maximum. I'm also asking our county merchants to solve this problem. There are also women and children living at the lodge, but they have absolutely nothing, as far as recreational equipment, to occupy the many hours that they are idle. Come on merchants, help.

The food is great, the sleeping arrangements are fair, the majority of the tenants are kind and friendly. The staff are ALL very helpful and concerned. Overall, it's a damn good place for those that are down and out, but they need financial help.

I think the Salvation Army is doing a tremendous job, but they can't do it alone.

A special thanks to Beth L., Tony F. and Gary. Seems they take a special interest in their clients' cases Thanks you three.

Sincerely, Johnnie L. Thomas

For Community Radio Enthusiasts

Dear KAOS Volunteers and Listeners,

KCMU, Seattle's community radio station, and KUGS, Bellingham's community radio station, are in trouble. At both stations, volunteers are being removed from the air and fired, and paid strong management teams are slowly but surely whittling away at their communities' access to these station. In its place, heavily formatted programming is being installed, with the goal of "generic community radio" on a nation-wide basis.

Community radio is much like community press. Think of Thurston County without access to *Works In Progress* or the *Evergreen Free Press* or *Sound Out*. Well KAOS is our community radio station for Thurston County. It is **our** voice over the radio waves, and it should reflect **our** community, **not** some community that advertising and nationally produced programs want us to see.

KCMU and KUGS volunteers and listeners are currently organizing their communities to fight station management and take back the airwaves. They believe that the measure of the successfulness of community radio is not how much money is raised, but how well the local community is served. If a community radio station is 90% funded by listener contributions, as KCMU is, then it would be reasonable to assume that the best way to increase funding would be to appeal to a wealthier audience, and that is exactly what KCMU management is trying to do. And Why does KCMU need more money? To hire more full time staff.

And who are the big time losers? All of us. African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, women, Queers, young people, foreigners and even disenfranchised white heterosexual men. If you are not recognized by the radio pollsters as affluent, you will not be served by programming specifically designed to raise money. And, if you are a member of the community-at-large, your opportunity to volunteer at a community radio station would be diminished as dozens of volunteer positions are replaced by a handful of slick radio professionals!

And KAOS is next.

I encourage any and all individuals concerned about the future of KAOS to begin organizing now. Communicate with the organizers in Seattle. They have started a watchdog and action group called CURSE (Censorship Undermines Radio Station Ethics), and may be reached by writing: CURSE, Post Office Box 85839, Seattle, WA 98145. Talk to each other, either directly or via the community press. But get going now!

We have already lost Eli's *Mouthing Off* to top down management. And don't think the new studios came free. They came with a commitment from top KAOS management to college officials of increased fund-raising. Remember what increased fund-raising means to you and me.

Zachary D. Lyons, Former KCMU Volunteer

Shedding Light

What is the purpose of name-calling? What does ridicule achieve? Is this an attempt to communicate? To engage in a dialogue? Or am I to be hurt, "put in my place?" If the intent is to abuse, what provoked it?

Why is it that when atrocities are spoken about, some listeners want to deny, discredit, pick apart, and silence the information?

This letter that I am responding to is in code. It is a familiar code, it is the code of abuse. It tells anyone who speaks out about oppression:

"...you did not see that/ you're imagining things/ you are lying/ you're saying it wrong/ you're implying things/ my pain is worse than your pain/ your concerns are trivial/ your information is wrong, and I have proof from these experts/ you are making it up/ be quiet/ shut up..."

Decoding the language of abuse and oppression is a vital activity. There is power in naming. Power to oppress, or power to uplift.

Sarah Light

Works In Progress

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the **Editorial Policy** and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

WORKERS IN PROGRESS

Dave Campbell, Pat Holm, Evelyn Montague, Marie Smith, Teresa Jennings, Chris Russo, Sylvia Smith, Pat Tassoni, Al Zimmerman, Dave Zink, Jerome Johnson, Zachary D. Lyons, Marvin Saillard, Dorothy Tassoni, Carol Poole, Greg Hohnholt

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. If possible submit articles on disk (WordPerfect). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editing purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Unity in the Community - March to Stop Hate Crimes

photo by Dave Campbell

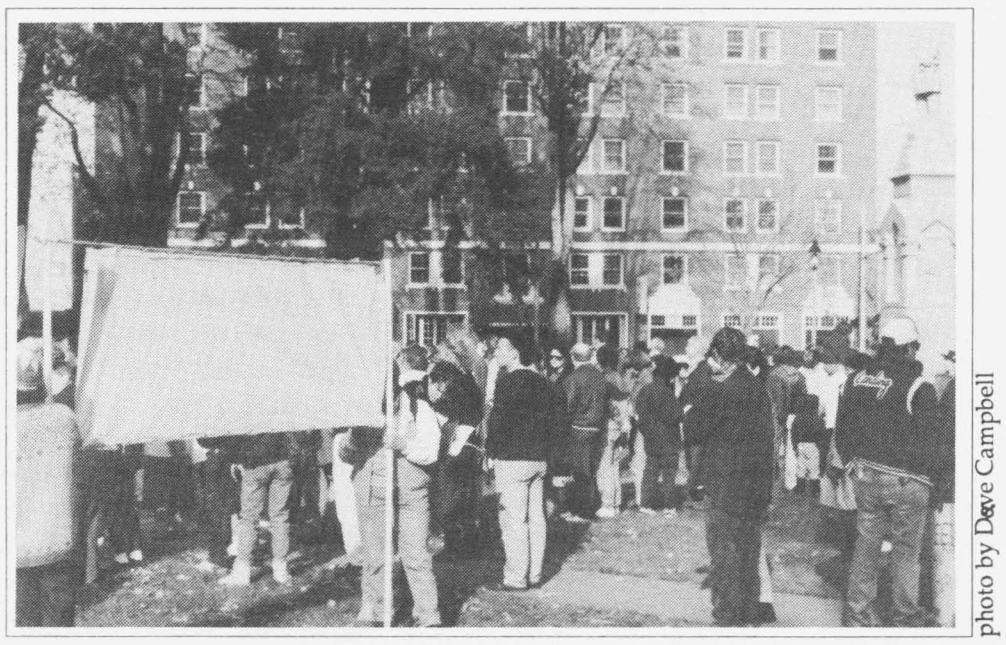

photo by Dave Campbell

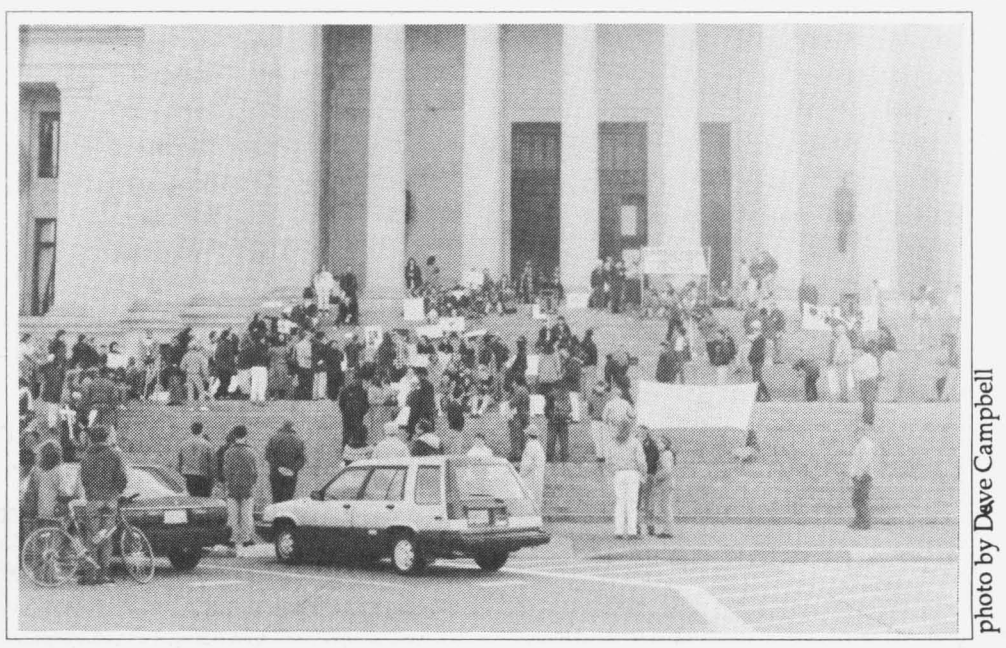

photo by Dave Campbell

Everyone Protected by Law

Editor, Works In Progress,

A letter published recently in WIP complained about Hate Crimes legislation, saying that whites were a minority in the world and deserved protection more than others.

I hope he realizes, upon further reflection, that existing and proposed Hate Crimes legislation is "neutral;" that is, it protects everyone (including whites) from threats and assault for reasons of race. If in fact whites are a declining proportion of the population then it would seem to make sense for them to support, not oppose, such laws.

Sincerely,
Mark Foutch
Olympia Councilmember

Attention!! I Need Your Help for a Writing Project

***Starting next month*: Confessions of An Apolitical Pundit**

Hello, I am a 32 year old student at Evergreen planning on doing a writing contract with *Works In Progress* for winter quarter. I am outlining a community service project that focuses on communicating the work of other individuals who have, in some way, performed unorthodox, innovative, or, for lack of a better word, brash acts of "giving back" to the Thurston County area. Before the more cynical or jaded amongst you pass this off as "goody-goody bullshit journalism", let me tell you my reasons for taking this tack with my contract.

First of all, a confession: I am one of those apolitical people who would have passed this very ad by with the sort of misanthropic skepticism I've alluded to above. If it wasn't for the fact that I am presently on *this* end of the word processor rather than where you are sitting, I'd probably just mutter some under-the-breath invective and turn the page. My generation seems particularly plagued with this self-destructive ennui; but can you blame us? As adolescents about to take our place in the world of civic responsibility and environmental stewardship, we watched as the idealism and tumultuous change of the sixties became transmuted into yuppie-ism and multinational capitalism. Perhaps more than a few of us folded under the pressure, and preferred to lay dormant in dull jobs listening to punk rock while the Reagan dynasty hypnotized the unwary into a lucrative submission to hopelessness and dormancy. (My "solution".) Perhaps now, however, more than a few of us, having heard the clarion call of change of late (or by simply just getting tired of our own political impotence), have decided to bust out of our cocoons and see if all the talk is for real.

I'd like to think so. This internship is predicated on the assumption that people of my generation are pricking up their ears; that all of us are on the lookout for evidence that all is not lost. They want to know that there *is* an alternative to becoming the cranky, self-indulgent, middle-aged hypocrites they used to sneer at when they were still young enough to think they would live forever. I'd like to throw some evidence their way that undertaking such a civic metamorphosis is a Good Thing for two reasons: (a) to convince them that there are a growing number of people like themselves who are making the difficult break to acting up; to becoming upstarts, and (b) to help myself make my own personal metamorphosis a little less painful and a lot more fun (Confession #2).

If you've been nodding your head or smiling to yourself as you've read the above, and know someone who has already taken the plunge into praxis (or if you yourself fit the *modus operandi* I've described and have a story to tell), could you drop me a line or call and let me know? I want to interview people who've found that "giving back" to a community that they didn't think they owed anything to was a challenge with internal conflicts and doubts peculiar to this epoch in history. Specifically, I am looking for the man or woman on the street who didn't think they would ever see themselves doing anything overtly political or community-oriented, but ended up doing it anyway. (Naturally, this "doing" need not be affiliated with any organization or civic group.)

Any questions? Feel free to call me. Greg Hohnholt, 943-5315 (YIELD-15). Or write to Greg's Project c/o Works in Progress. First column in next month's issue, BUT ONLY IF YOU CALL.

DRUG ABUSE

I'VE OFTEN THOUGHT ABOUT WHAT DRUGS DO TO YOUR MIND
AND YET THERE'S SO MANY, ALL OF A DIFFERENT KIND
ALOT OF PEOPLE DON'T THINK ABOUT THE DRUGS THAT ARE USED
AND THE WAY YOUR BODY IS TOTALLY ABUSED
YOU SEE SOMANY YOUNG KIDS ON THE STREET
AND THE DRUG PUSHERS WALKING THEIR BEAT
THEY GET THEM HOOKED ON ONE THING OR ANOTHER
THEN THEY PUSH IT ON THEIR SISTER OR BROTHER
ITS LIKE A CHAIN REACTION THAT KEEPS GOING ON
AND YOU DON'T REALIZE IT UNTIL THAT PERSON IS GONE
THEN YOU FEEL THE SORROW IN YOUR HEART
AND YOU WISH YOU WOULD HAVE NEVER LET THEM START
THE WAR ON DRUGS IS GREAT
JUST DON'T LET IT PULL YOU DOWN AND BE YOUR FATE
PLEASE GET YOUR SELF CLEAN YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN
EVEN THOUGH YOU THINK ITS FUN
TAKE THE TIME TO THINK OF WHAT THE DRUGS HAVE DONE.

CATHY DURRETT

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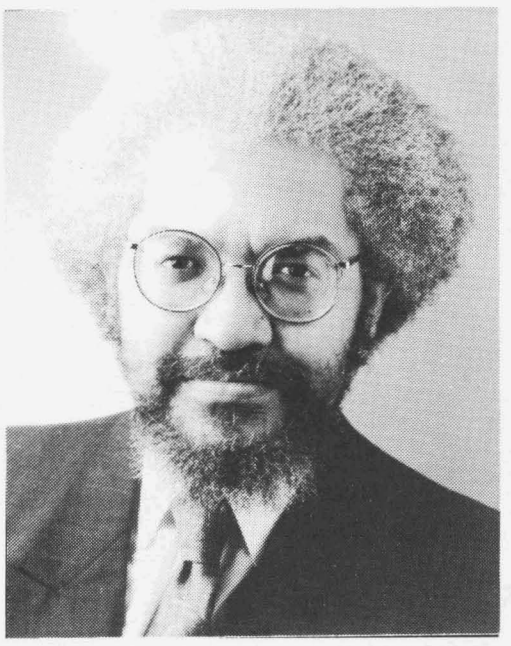
Along The Color Line

Race and the 1992 Presidential Election

Manning Marable

The shadow of race is always present in American politics, and the recent presidential contest was no exception. Yet the curious reality is that in the political aftermath of the racial uprisings in Los Angeles in April-May, 1992, the most costly and violent social explosion in American history, that none of the major candidates really addressed or confronted the fundamental racial crisis in this country. As political critic Alan Ehrenhalt observed: "In every Presidential election since 1968, the middle class concerns of race and crime have been at the center of campaign debate. This year, they have scarcely been discussed."



George Bush's public record on race relations is filled with ambiguity and cynical opportunism. As a student at Yale University nearly five decades ago, he led the fund-raising drive for the United Negro College Fund, providing much-needed support for historically black colleges. As a local Republican leader in Texas, he placed party funds in a black-owned bank. But Bush was ready to jettison any commitments to black equality, depending upon the circumstances. In 1964, he vigorously opposed the Civil Rights Act which outlawed racial segregation in public accommodations. In his 1988 presidential campaign, Bush benefited from the racist-inspired Willie Horton political advertisement. As President, he vetoed the 1990 Civil Rights Act, attacking it as a "racial quota bill."

Ross Perot received some surprisingly strong support from blacks at the beginning of his independent candidacy. For months, Jesse Jackson openly flirted with Perot, and his Rainbow Coalition nearly endorsed him. In June, a national survey of African-American voters from 18 to 34 years old found that 21 percent favored Perot. But a negative reaction against Perot developed when it was learned that the Texas billionaire opposed affirmative action. When the Electronic Data Systems corporation was under Perot's ownership, the company had barely one percent black and Latino managers and administrators. Perot inflicted irreparable damage upon himself, as far as African Americans were concerned, after delivering a dreadfully paternalistic speech before the national convention of the NAACP. Perot referred to blacks as "you people"--a statement reflecting both his personal and political distance from the real problems of African Americans.

Clinton's relationship with the black community was far more complicated. Growing up in a rural, impoverished family with an abusive, alcoholic stepfather, Clinton's personal experiences gave him some insight into the inherent unfairness of class and racial oppression. As an idealistic college student at Georgetown University, he assisted poor, rural African Americans participating in a civil rights protest in Washington, D.C., led by the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy. As Governor of a small Southern state, he cultivated cordial links with African-American constituents, appointing more blacks to governmental positions than all previous Arkansas governors combined.

Clinton could speak with compassion and power in his denunciations of racism and economic inequality, something completely alien to both Perot and Bush. In the aftermath of the Los Angeles racial revolt of April-May, 1992, for instance, the Democratic candidate declared: "The Republicans, when they needed to prove Michael Dukakis was soft on crime, brought out Willie Horton. The Republicans, when they needed to cover up for their senseless economic strategy that is driving income down for most American families while they work harder, blame it on quotas so there can be racial resentment instead of honest analysis of our economic falsehoods. . . . We have made a great deal of progress for those of us who live in the mainstream of America. But what has happened beneath that? Beneath that, there are those who are not part of our Community, where values have been shredded by the hard knife of experience, where there is the disintegration of family and neighborhood and jobs and the rise of drugs and guns and gangs."

But Clinton's advisers, painfully aware that no Democratic presidential candidate had received a majority of the white vote in nearly thirty years, sharply advised Clinton to distance himself from the problems of lower-income blacks in general, and from Jesse Jackson in particular. This was the reason for Clinton's calculated public break with Jackson over the "Sister Souljah" controversy. Clinton also embraced changes in welfare laws which would deny increased payments to poor mothers who had additional children while on welfare. Throughout the campaign, Clinton deliberately distanced himself from Jackson, even avoiding being photographed with him.

Clinton's failure to achieve more than 50 percent of the white vote will push him even further to the right as his administration begins. African-Americans and other people of color must immediately pressure Clinton to respond to their needs, if racial unrest and the recent violence of the streets of Los Angeles is to be avoided in the future.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of Political Science and History, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 250 publications, and is broadcast by more than 60 radio stations internationally.

"In every Presidential election since 1968, the middle class concerns of race and crime have been at the center of campaign debate. This year, they have scarcely been discussed." [Ehrenhalt]

I AGREE WITH THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

A grassroots organization that works for the people the two political parties frequently ignore: peace activists, people of color, the differently-abled, union members, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the working poor, and other community people.

An organization that supports and encourages progressive electoral candidates. An organization that networks and works with others who have the same goals.

Join the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and get involved.

Yes, I'm interested in joining the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

❑ Enclosed is: $25; $10 low-income.

❑ Yes, I want to be involved in Rainbow activities. Give me a call.

(name) _____

(address) _____

(city) (state) (zip)

_____ _____ _____

(work phone) (home phone)

_____ _____

(issues of interest):

Send to: Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, P.O. Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. For information call 459-3625 or 456-4773.

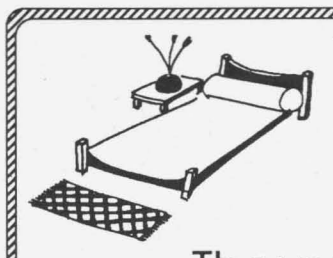
Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

General Membership Meeting

Sat. Dec. 12
12:30 pm

900 East Bay Dr. A103
Call 357-8463 for info.

The Washington State Rainbow Coalition is planning a heavy Legislative lobbying agenda. There are four major topics on which they are focusing: 1) Health Care Reform, 2) Farmworker support, 3) State budget and tax reform, 4) Environmental protection and Growth Management. If you would like to be a Thurston County member of the state task force for one of these focus areas please call Dan Taylor at 456-4773. If you would like to discuss these topics please come to our general membership meeting on December 12.



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Clatterbaugh's Contemporary Perspectives Beyond Bly and Moyer's Masculinity

Todd Denney

Book Review: Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity-Men, Women, and Politics in Modern Society, *by Kenneth Clatterbaugh, 182 pages Westview Press, 1990*

Kenneth Clatterbaugh's *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity* is a refreshing academic overview of the male consciousness movement. The influence of Robert Bly's engaging mythopoetic spiritual perspective on current masculinity is evident. Bly has certainly opened the doors for works such as Clatterbaugh's since his overnight infusion into the American psyche after an appearance on Bill Moyers 1990 PBS broadcast, "A Gathering of Men". That documentary has become the spiritual revival of the men's movement, or so the media would have us believe. I find it intriguing that few of my male friends in the "movement" are drawn to Bly's works. I'll return to that point.

Clatterbaugh takes a socio-political approach to the major perspectives of masculinity which include-conservative, liberal, radical, humanist growth, African-American, and gay factions. He examines these perspectives and offers further insight into masculinity in the 90's.

Clatterbaugh asks questions: What is the social reality for men in modern society? What maintains or explains this social reality? What would be a better social reality? How can we achieve this social reality? These inquiries are designed to foster critical awareness and push for a deeper understanding of the potential and the drawbacks of each perspective. The end of each chapter concludes with a specific listing of other related readings and writers, connected to the selection by theme, male experience and history. For example, after analyzing Gay and Black perspectives Clatterbaugh suggests the following group of readings:

1. David Fernbach's interesting overview of gay masculinity, *The Spiral Path* (1981)

2. Dennis Altman's excellent book on the political and social impact of AIDS, *AIDS in the Mind Of America* (1986).

3. Ralph Ellision's powerful account of racism at the turn of the century in *The Invisible Man* (1952).

4. Jewelle T. Gibb's current perspective of the black experience in *Young, Black and Male in America: An Endangered Species* (1988)

The substantive analysis of these works and their appropriateness is impressive.

Can it be that many men are drawn to Bly's works and to books such as Clatterbaugh's because they are the comfortably numb? They have all the exterior signs of success (good career, happy home life), but they have no inner life. They've just turned 35, 45 or 55 and they feel life is passing them by; they realize they've been sleeping and need to wake up. Clatterbaugh's work may not speak to young men as dramatically as it does to those who've been around the block and had their share of traumatic experiences and failures. Clatterbaugh notes that "...The spiritual perspective is less concerned with developing agendas for social change than with developing an environment in which men can experience growth and self discovery " .

Women have a different kind of resistance to Robert Bly and to the men's movement in general. Some women see the idea of a men's movement as a nightmare, especially in the wake of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill, Mike Tyson, William Kennedy Smith and Naval Tailhook hearings. As one women stated during a large community discussion on Bly, "Women live in a man's world and feel that oppression daily. The idea of them gathering to worship maleness makes me feel very nervous.". Yet if middle class males have the lion's share of economic, political and sexual power in this country, why are many of them so unhappy?

Of course many men, perhaps the majority, are not drawn to or interested in most of the perspectives Clatterbaugh examines. The average American male rarely deviates from his traditional role of the provider, paying his bills, taking care of his family and making the important decisions. This conservative legacy makes social change all the more difficult. Clatterbaugh states that "...the appeal of this perspective may have something to do with its familiarity and the lingering suspicion that conservatism... primarily serves the purpose of creating a rationale for the present social order". Certainly the men's movement has not had the visible impact on society's definitions of masculinity that the women's movement and the gay liberation movement have. Nevertheless the impact has been felt, albeit subtly.

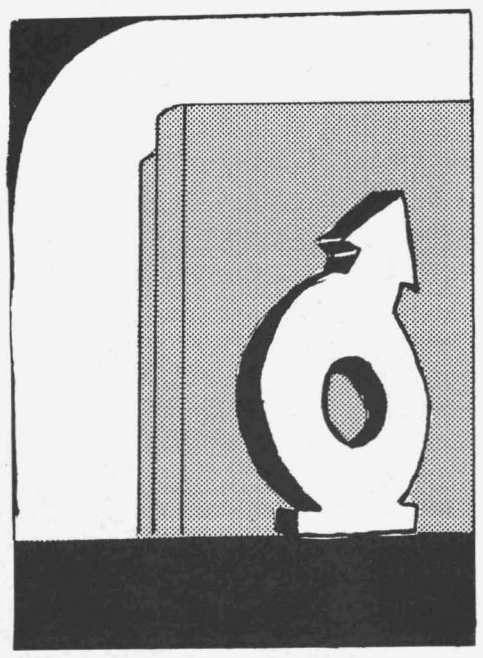
Despite recent efforts of the media to create celebrities and promote a national men's movement, it remains largely a grass roots activity, and that in itself contains a political threat. Noam Chomsky's *Government by Conspiracy* expands on this notion that ordinary men are increasingly being marginalized in American society - alongside women, people of color, and gays - so that only the exclusive white male elite control political power.

Clatterbaugh wisely describes his chapter on gay and African-American perspectives as "A View from Outside", since few of these men are actually visible in our world. American society is ruled by straight old white men, and sadly that's the group for whom the profound changes must take place to impact our world. There are inherent problems in hoping for change from these power brokers. As John Stoltenberg said in his brilliantly stated description of masculinity, *Refusing To Be A Man: Essays on Sex and Justice*, "Educating men about the very values upon which is built the whole sexist superstructure, control, dominance, and submission slowly continues. But the fact is that this recognition comes to men often in isolation, and that isolation is itself paralyzing".

Clatterbaugh's* Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity *adds to the emerging foundation for exploring the challenging array of male pathways to selfhood.

Perhaps the most truthful answer one can give to the question Who are these men?" is one from our own experience. Among the men I know are, Lukan, a gay college graduate who focuses on issues of AIDS, safe sex and child abuse; Bob, a cook and waiter whose pro-feminist convictions were born out of a relationship with a feminist woman; Tom, a middle-aged political activist currently running for state office, who ten years earlier worked in the forestry industry; Steve, a computer consultant who for years worked with abused children and now is happily raising his own child; and Fred, a former school social worker who befriended and positively impacted the lives of numerous young men, he now teaches peer mediation programs to teachers and students.

Talking to these men, I recognize in each of their stories reflections of



my own quest to hitch the wagon of my talents, education, experiences, and good intentions to a larger purpose. And as a group, these individuals represent a cross section of the different degrees of readiness and apprehension with which men approach the movement.

Whether or not one agrees with the conclusions of Clatterbaugh's analysis of each perspective, one must commend his treatment of critical social issues of enormous social significance. Clatterbaugh gleans the forces of masculine perspectives from the literature, isolating and illustrating salient themes of growth and change from Jung's archetypal male patterns in the stories of Apollo, Heracles, Zeus and Dionysus; through Robert Bly's account of the development of masculinity in his telling of the story of "Iron Hans"; to feminist ally John Stoltenberg's claim that ending sexism requires "a total repudiation of masculinity".

It's our responsibility as educators to find, discuss and actualize those books that reflect the multitude of male experiences in their totality - books that traverse the many experiences of adolescence, ethnicity, sexuality, family and culture. Clatterbaugh's *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity* adds to the emerging foundation for exploring the challenging array of male pathways to selfhood.

Todd Denny lives in Olympia, and works and volunteers as an educational consultant addressing issues of violence and abuse.

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Environment, Labor, and Social Justice: Building Links in a Multi-Racial Society

Conference Promotes Alliances

Dave Zink

The conference held November 12-14 at Evergreen State College, entitled "Environment, Labor, and Social Justice: Building Links in a Multi-Racial Society", brought together environmentalists, members of a wide variety of labor unions, and groups having a central focus on social justice. The spirit of the meeting could be summed up in the phrase: "We must work together, or perish in isolation".

Dr. Linda Murray photo courtesy of the Labor Center

A lot of good ideas were brought up and discussed from several different angles at this conference, far too many for a comprehensive review. In this article, I'll try to stick to the main theme of the conference: how corporations are attempting to relinquish their environmental responsibility to the communities they are based in by claiming that jobs will have to be sacrificed if tougher environmental standards are enacted.

Environmental Racism

The keynote speaker, Linda Murray, is medical director for Winfield Moody Health Center in Chicago, consultant and advisor to the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union, and a veteran of many years of industrial health work. Murray helped clarify some things. What is "environmental racism"?

Hazardous waste sites tend to be located near or in minority communities and native reservations. Fines on companies found guilty of polluting white communities are generally higher than polluters of minority communities. But this isn't environmental racism, Murray insists; these are some *effects* of environmental racism. Some environmentalists have fallen prey to elitist ideas and think that minorities are either incapable of understanding environmental problems or just don't care, so little effort is put into recruiting minorities. The polluters would rather not have allies join forces, so they try to keep them apart. *This* is environmental racism. As Murray pointed out, the average person, including the person of color, is an environmentalist. There's nothing peculiar about preferring clean air, good water, and keeping green, natural lands out of the hands of developers. Environmental issues clearly transcend the color line.

This point is brought home when you consider that 80% of recent strikes have involved workplace health issues, including chemical exposures. Chemicals do not respect the factory gate, or the color of a person's skin. Industrial health issue on the work site becomes a community health issue when the chemical escapes beyond the boundaries of the work site. Murray argued that the problems of racism, environmental degradation, and hazardous working conditions are linked, and that we must be sensitive to these links or we will risk wearing ourselves out scrambling after effects rather than getting at the roots of our problems.

Toxic Farming

When the 300 people attending the conference broke into focus groups on various issues, I chose the workshop on farms, natural resources, and sustainable communities. George Finch of El Centro Campesino, a farmworker organizing project, explained the farm worker's situation. It is all too common to be fired and kicked out of the labor camp by complaining of chemical exposure or trying to organize a union local. "The nail that sticks up, gets hammered down."

Here is where the importance of Murray's argument concerning the links between labor and the environment becomes obvious. Most environmental problems on the farm stem from modern methods of agricultural production: pesticides are now so common in orchards that it is no longer valid to consider poisonings to be "accidents". Legislation alone has been ineffective. Chemical companies, with ample financial resources and staffs of lawyers, award chemicals the rights of

(Continued on next page.)

This conference made it clear that if we are to make any real progress, communities and unions must work together and not fall prey to corporate-aggravated divisiveness.

Building Links

Karen Rosenthal

Last weekend I attended a conference entitled "Environment, Labor, and Social Justice: Building Links in a Multi-Racial Society". It was co-sponsored by the Evergreen Labor Center, and the Masters of Environmental Studies program. Having worked in various parts of the social justice and environmental movements, I have witnessed first hand the narrow mindedness that can occur within individual groups. At times, each particular group can become so focused on a particular issue, that the obvious links we have with other social movements are forgotten. Each group is so certain that its issue is the most pressing and important, that we sometimes alienate each other. The conference offered the possibility of being where people wanted to listen; where we could discover some common ground amongst the jumble of singular perspectives between different groups.

The conference began with keynote speaker Dr. Linda Murray, the Medical Director of Winfield Moody Health Center in Chicago, a consultant to the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers and a member of the advisory board for the 1991 National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit. Dr. Murray talked about how communities of color endure a disproportionate amount of toxins, incinerators, and waste dumps in their communities. Dr. Murray believes that the fact that this environmental racism exists is, unfortunately, "to be expected," due to the racist society in which we live especially when mainstream, white environmentalists assume that communities of color don't care about the environment. She argued that white environmentalists need to expand the definition of environment and environmental problems to include everyday issues of social injustice. For example, she says that having a house is an environmental issue. So is having a job. We cannot expect to solve the toxic waste problem without looking at AIDS, because the root cause of all these problems is the same—social injustice.

Another speaker was Denny Scott, the Assistant Director, Industrial Department, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. He spoke about the possibilities of labor-environmental alliances. Scott described how the environmental movement alienated labor when they neglected to contact labor groups for input about the northwest old growth forest issue, and did not originally include provisions in their reports and legislation for displaced workers and communities. Despite the present polarization of the two groups he does believe that there can be a "win-win" solution to this conflict. He feels there needs to be 1) respect for differing points of view, 2) a genuine desire to reach an equitable compromise from both sides, and 3) for all parties to stand by the compromise agreed upon.

Richard Grossman speak during lunchtime on final day of the conference. He is a former director of Environmentalists for Full Employment, and co-author of *Fear at Work: Job Blackmail, Labor, and the Environment*. He gave a somewhat scattered, but informative overview of the history of the environmental groups working for corporate accountability. I had hoped he would talk more about the history of cooperation among groups, particularly labor and environmental groups. This history of shared struggle has been made invisible, and I believe that unearth-

(Continued on next page.)

Next Steps - Short Term Actions

1. Meeting in Hoquiam

Continue the work of the conference by attending a meeting in Hoquiam on Sunday, December 13th. The purpose of holding this meeting in Hoquiam is to show solidarity for the workers that ITT-Rayonier and Grays Harbor Paper Company laid off by the closing of their mills.

2. NAFTA Rally

Sponsor a mass rally in Washington state to express opposition to the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement.

3. Rainier Beach Community Auditorium

Hold the second meeting in Seattle's Rainier Beach neighborhood. The purpose will be to continue all commitments and to show support for community organizations wishing to get a community center built in Rainier Beach.

4. Oscar and Miguel

Support the Committee for Justice for Miguel Arozco and Oscar Carcamo in their work of protesting the witness intimidation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and demanding the trial of Arozco and Carcamo be dropped.

(Conference, cont.)

citizens and assume innocence until proven guilty. Holding corporations accountable requires a long legal process and statistical quibbling that takes time and money. To resolve rural environmental problems, full union recognition and collective bargaining rights for workers exposed to agricultural chemicals would be an effective first step in reducing the toxic contamination of aquifers.

The Road Forward

This conference made it clear that if we are to make any real progress, communities and unions must work together and not fall prey to corporate-aggravated divisiveness. As citizens, we have a responsibility to let the absentee CEO's and major stockholders know that, unlike them, we *live* in the community and don't like our kids being poisoned. Also, as this conference made explicit, it is imperative that we support workers involved in a labor struggle by making it clear that the community is in active solidarity with the strikers. This means working to make it illegal for companies to hire replacement workers in strikes.

Sounds good, but...

How do we accomplish this? The first step in fostering active participation in our communities lies with educating the public about environmental and labor issues. There is an appalling level of ignorance in the general public about these issues due to the lack of media coverage they receive. Protests over the North American Free Trade Agreement ("NAFTA") and strikes, for example, get no coverage; not even on our "public" airwaves. Although there are plenty of shows about lovely places on nature and wildlife on NPR and PBS, what Greenpeace, Earth First!, or the Sierra Club are doing around the country to safeguard our environment are virtually ignored. We need to let NPR and PBS know that we want more coverage about *us* and our struggles.

In addition to better media coverage, there needs to be an ongoing exchange of information between unions and the communities so that safer alternatives to many agricultural and industrial chemicals and practices can be implemented. We must hold corporations accountable. Naturally, if these alternatives are costly, we can expect them to threaten to close down and re-open somewhere else with a "better business climate". What happens then?

Here is where an informed public and a united coalition of environment and labor groups becomes crucial. For years, the corporate elite has told us that we are nothing without them. In actuality, however, working people already run the economy in this country, but not yet in their own interests. If the owners of a company threaten workers with closure and unemployment, the communities need to stand with labor and demand a voice in outlining an appropriate industrial policy amenable to all. If the company still decides to seek a less hostile work site, we need to then say: "Sure, of course you can leave. But we're occupying our factory. We can handle things fine without you. Don't forget to write!"

In sum, this conference convinced me of the urgency of combining the resources of our community, environmental, labor, and social justice groups into effective coalitions. By recognizing common interests, attacking limited, clearly-defined problems, and, most importantly, by working together, we can overcome suspicion and grow in confidence. Then we can tackle tougher stuff. But we need to start organizing now, *before* our backs are pushed up against the wall any further.

It was a good conference. Thanks to The Evergreen State College and all the participants.

Dave Zink is employed at the Department of Ecology and has written for WIP in the past.

photo courtesy of the Labor Center

Hazel Wolf of the Audobon Society talks with the Executive Vice-President of Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers, Elmer Laulainen

(Building Links, cont.)

ing it is integral for building trust in each other.

A few days later, I ran into a man who had been at the conference, and we chatted briefly about how we thought it went. His observation was that "Sometimes people called the conference 'Labor, Environment, and Social Justice'; sometimes it was called 'Environment, Labor, and Social Justice'; but the 'social justice' was always last." His comment summed up quite well what I had been feeling. Despite the common concerns that brought attendees and groups together, I felt that much exclusionary and destructive power dynamics impaired the effectiveness of some of the workshops.

For example, after we broke up into ten groups we were to come back and present our discoveries and decisions, to the large group as a whole. Of the presenters, I noticed that white men, particularly those who had clearly competed many years formal schooling, spoke the most often, for the longest periods of time. One would make a point that I thought was quite basic, and say it as if he had just made some major revelation with which to enlighten the rest of us with. I am not saying that white men should not have spoken. I am pointing out a power dynamic within the conference that did not seem to be addressed. At a conference dealing with issues of social justice and inclusion, it was frustrating for me to see such power dynamics occur, and not be confronted. I would have liked some sort of acknowledgment of this pattern which seems to inevitably occur, and asked the participants to, at the very least, try to be aware of it.

Despite the common concerns that brought attendees together...power dynamics impaired the effectiveness of some of the workshops.

Another power issue that arose was in a workshop I attended on chemical hazards in the workplace and in the community. Among the participants, there were about eight women with armbands that said "Chemically Disabled Worker". They had been exposed to toxins in their workplace, and now suffer from Multiple Chemical Sensitivity Disorder. They are not getting support from their employers or unions, most of them cannot work, and their disability claims have been denied. They could have shared many strategies and stories, yet they were not given the space to speak. The facilitators instead got involved in a very narrow conversation with a few other participants of the workshop that the rest of us could not get involved in. Although the subtitle of this workshop was "...from knowledge to action", the people who dominated the discussion never got past throwing their knowledge around. When I (finally) gathered enough courage to raise my hand to address this issue, I wasn't called on to speak. At another workshop, however, these women did get a chance to speak, as did others whom had not been given the opportunity earlier. The facilitators of this particular workshop *did* address power issues, and I definitely felt more comfortable because of it.

Overall, certain issues were either glossed over or ignored altogether. Discussions on women's issues were non-existent. And, although racism and classism were touched upon at times, sexism, homophobia and other forms of oppression were not. Although environmental racism was alluded to throughout the conference, there was little discussion about how it affects different communities of color in different ways. One glaring example of this was the invisibility of Native Americans's concerns throughout the conference. If there is one example of how social justice, the environment, and labor are linked, this is certainly it. The oppression of Native people of this country has been bound with the environment ever since the first settlers arrived. Today, this oppression continues in the form of fishing rights struggles, water rights, land disputes (from broken treaties), uranium mining, and other fights for social justice that remain issues of contention for Native Americans that go unsupported by most white activists. Much would have been gained from hearing more about these issues at the conference.

Despite some of my frustrations, I believe that the conference was successful. There was basic agreement among the participants that our various groups share common goals: corporate accountability, redistribution of resources and power, a safe, clean environment, and justice for all people. My criticisms of the workshops are not targeted for the sponsors of the conference. Obviously the workshops did not take place within a vacuum, and the power dynamics I experienced are surely reflective of society as a whole. I only ask for all of us to be aware of these behavior patterns we have all been socialized with, and to try to change them in ourselves. I know that much work went into organizing the conference and I want to thank the people at the Evergreen Labor Center and the Masters of Environmental Studies Program for all of their efforts.

I am a college student, female, white, Jewish-American, age 22, and queer. I am currently on disability from the state, and hope to be able to return to work soon. I feel that these facts are important to share because they influence how I interpreted the events of the conference. I brought my own agendas to this conference, and I realize that my perspective is necessarily narrowed by this.

I want to thank the participants for their commitment to working together in the future. I hope this promise will be kept. Although the conference was a step in the right direction, it was a very basic one. I know there is still much distrust among groups, surrounding various issues. Let's keep our commitment to each other, and continue the dialogue.

Karen Rosenthal is the co-coordinator of the Jewish Cultural Center at The Evergreen State College.

Awaiting Mediation at BullDog

Virginia Carhart

This article was written with the knowledge that there would be a companion piece by Doug Campbell, owner of BullDog News.

It has been over a month now since four female employees resigned from BullDog News. Three of these women worked in the Olympia store. As of the November WIP, a meeting had been planned to discuss the incident and work to some mutually satisfactory resolution, with the assistance of the Thurston County Dispute Resolution Center. As I initially understood it, the mediation was to be open to past and present employees at any of the three BullDog News stores who were concerned and wanted to attend. This was to make the meeting available to any employees who might have left BullDog News for similar or related reasons. I discovered later that the actual terms for the mediation would take some time to figure out.

But I must ask: Doesn't the fact that Tanya was forced to use this other escape route confirm that she had cause to feel threatened?

Literally hours before the November WIP went to press I was informed that the owner of BullDog News, Doug Campbell, had agreed to this meeting. I called him to confirm this. After thinking about what kind of environment would be likely to encourage resolution, I called him back to let him know that I would pull my original WIP article (along with an article I had written for SOUND OUT).

The original articles I had written for WIP and SOUND OUT asked readers to boycott BullDog News until a resolution was reached. I replaced the WIP article with the text of the speech I had given at the Anita Hill Rally and a further statement which stressed my positive feelings about the then upcoming meeting.

This meeting has yet to take place. This is in part due to disagreements over who would be allowed to attend. A new date has now been set for December 4th, and the DRC is continuing to provide assistance and will eventually provide two trained mediators.

What follows are some of the demands that have been discussed by past and present BullDog News employees:

1. That Doug Campbell commit to personally being involved in the creation of a Sexual Harassment Policy under the direction of the Washington State Human Rights Commission for all three BullDog News Stores that would be:

a. binding for employer and employees.

b. begun and instituted by a date agreed upon during mediation.

c. a part of the training of all new employees and made available to present employees.

d. open to the review of any of the employees who resigned over the incident.

2. That a group of present employees be involved in the policy's creation, while it remains understood that the employer is ultimately responsible.

3. That a grievance procedure be established in a similar fashion.

This list is not exhaustive nor does it necessarily reflect all the concerns of all BullDog News employees. It is likely that in the following weeks and perhaps during mediation that other concerns will be brought up and addressed.

To backtrack briefly - on October 8th at the U. District BullDog News in Seattle, a confrontation occurred between the owner, Doug Campbell, and an employee, Tanya Turkovich, that she has described as harassment. My account of this incident can be read in the Nov. WIP. Tanya resigned from her position following the incident and has since filed a complaint with the Seattle Human Rights Commission.

Here in Olympia three female employees felt compelled to resign rather than continue to work for a man who we believed had behaved in an inappropriate, intimidating, and aggressive manner towards a female employee.

A few days after the incident I spoke at length individually with both Tanya and Doug. When I first spoke with Doug I found there to be very little difference in the actual series of events they each described. Doug, however, appeared entirely unwilling to understand that what he did, when he was by his own admission "out of control," was threatening to Tanya. He was also unwilling to accept that knowledge of the incident could give his other employees, especially the women, cause to feel threatened. Doug's refusal to acknowledge these concerns and our insistence that they be addressed is the central issue in this dispute.

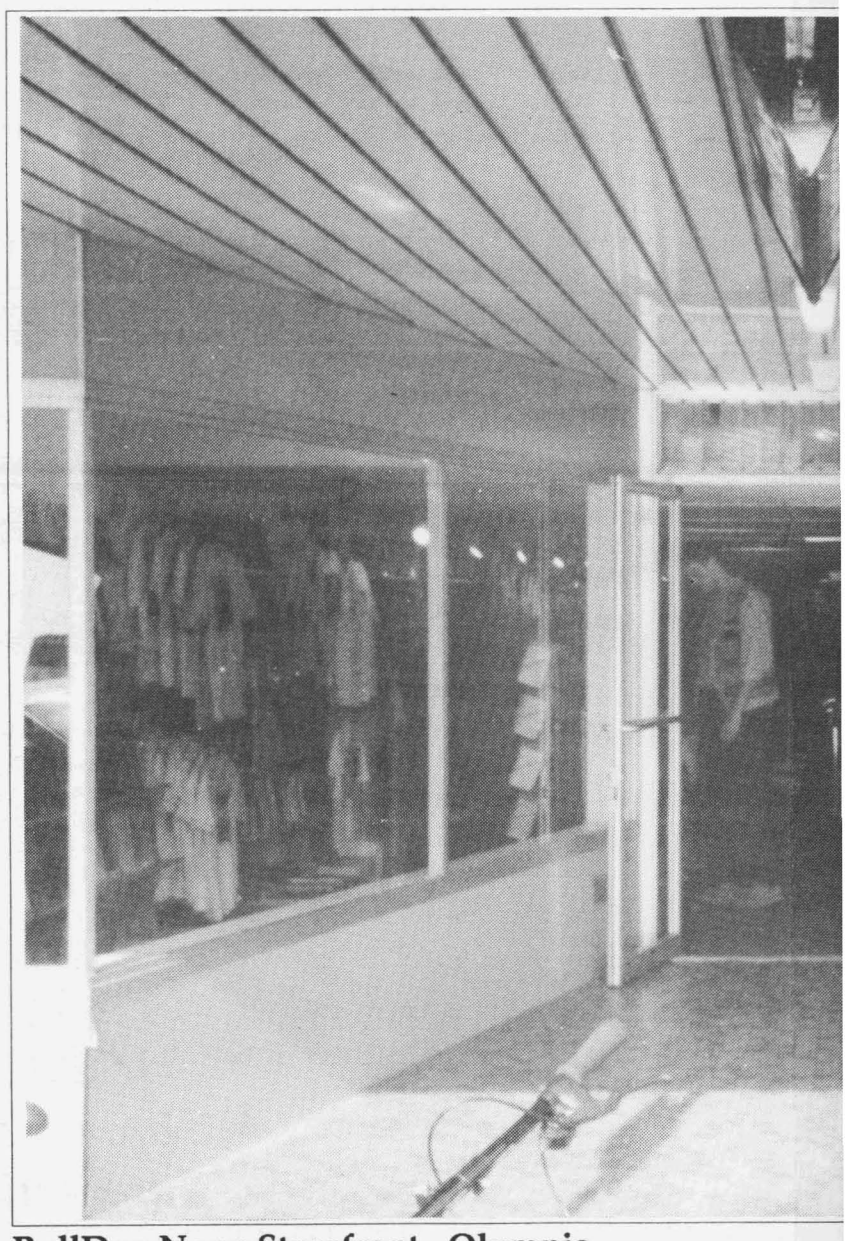
During this first conversation Doug also attempted to dissuade me from believing Tanya and tried to marginalize the position we were taking in Olympia by resigning by saying things like "You don't know what you're talking about" and "No one in Seattle feels like they have to quit over this." (Since this comment was made, the manager of the Broadway BullDog News has resigned, citing Doug's handling of this incident as one of his many reasons.)

As the manager of BullDog News in Olympia, my responsibilities included hiring and firing. Doug did not acknowledge to me that I had reasonable cause as a person in this position to question his behavior. Before I decided to resign, I asked myself this question: What would I say if I was interviewing a woman for a job here? I could not assure her the situation was being dealt with, because **it wasn't**. I took my concerns to the public when I felt Doug had no plans to address them within his business.

The three of us who resigned in Olympia met to discuss our concerns after we had been invited to attend the mediation. The two of us who had spoken directly to him shared our impressions and had to conclude that Doug had no intention of responding directly to our concerns. We took into consideration that it was not Doug but two (male) employees still working at the Olympia store who had suggested a meeting. Doug had made no attempt to contact any of us on his own, even after I had spoken at the rally.

This led us to suspect that Doug's willingness to attend the meeting reflected his concern with the impact our actions were having on his business, not necessarily a concern with the effects his actions had had on us.

We discussed the potential benefits of various ways Doug could respond personally and publicly to this incident versus the argument that we were not responsible for his re-education. Finally, we agreed to be there to support each other in both our collective and individual concerns.



BullDog News Storefront - Olympia

When I spoke to Doug to confirm his agreement to mediation, he expressed the concern that the speech I had given at the rally was either factually wrong or being misinterpreted or both.

Since then, I asked a current BullDog employee to confirm the accuracy of my report. Jimmy Mateson, who works at the Olympia store, had heard from Doug his description of the incident and read the speech I gave as printed in WIP. He confirmed that "It's consistent with what Doug said" to him.

Jimmy also mentioned to me that Doug feels I made an important omission. I should have stated that there was another exit besides the one Doug was blocking, and that Tanya left by this exit.

Actually, in my original article I did write "Tanya leaves by the back door, and later quits her job at BullDog News." But I must ask: Doesn't the fact that Tanya was forced to use this other escape route confirm that she had cause to feel threatened? Doesn't the fact that she left confirm that she needed to get away from Doug? If a woman is physically intimidated by a man on the street, of course she can try to run away, but that doesn't mean the harassment didn't happen.

Doug also mentioned that Tanya had worked for him for three years, and that he was very angry about her current work performance and her level of commitment.

Women are often physically intimidated by close friends, or partners, or husbands, who are very angry with them for not being good friends, or partners, or wives. One's relationship to an individual does not excuse inappropriate behavior.

Doug's explanations amount to a continued unwillingness on his part to address the issues that by now have been brought to up with him by various employees and ex-employees. Tanya felt harassed and quit because of it. Three other employees believed she was harassed and quit because of it. I brought this issue to the public solely for the sake of encouraging Doug to respond to our concerns in an authentic and realistic manner.

I have been asked if I believed that what happened to Tanya constitutes sexual harassment. I have consistently described Doug's behavior as "aggressive, intimidating, and inappropriate."

(Continued page 10)

Owner of BullDog News Responds

Doug Campbell

This article was written with the knowledge that there would be a companion piece by Virginia Carhart.

It has been a month now since distressing charges were made in these pages regarding my behavior toward a female employee in Seattle. Virginia Carhart's article and her speech at the Anita Hill Rally essentially accused me of harassing my employee through blocking a doorway and forcing her to remain in a private room with me during an angry argument. This simply did not occur. In fact I did bar a female employee from ENTERING the store, by standing in a doorway. This em-

ployee was about to be fired and had minutes before created an embarrassing scene on the store's sales floor. At no time did I block the exit.

I am outraged that the editorial policy of this paper allows only delayed responses to this type of serious personal accusation. I do not argue that such accusations should be suppressed. The community has a compelling interest in seeing that its workplaces do not allow employers to physically intimidate or sexually harass their employees. But the nature of such charges presents the possibility of grave damage to the individuals involved, including the accuser as well as the accused. This is particularly true in Olympia where we all wear our political agendas on our sleeves. Objective fact finding and an unbiased examination of different points of view is the only way to arrive at the truth of a matter such as this. As human beings we owe one another this type of regard. Carefulness and fairness have not been exercised here.

The extremely misleading and inaccurate presentation of the "facts" of a confrontation between myself and my Seattle employee is in no way excused by labeling the piece as "opinion" in *Works in Progress*. Virginia Carhart, the article's author, spoke with me at length by telephone the day she submitted her article to *Works in Progress*. During this conversation she did not inform me that she was writing an article for publication or afford me the opportunity to be quoted with a different point of view. Nor did *Works in Progress* contact me or offer me any timely opportunity to respond. I therefore do not trust this forum. In view of the seriousness of the charges raised, I ask that my response to Virginia's piece be run without additional comment in this issue. The following is the clearest description I can muster of the events in question.

In October one of my employees in Seattle quit as I was trying to fire her. Tanya Turkovich had worked at the University District store for four years. I considered her a friend as well as a valued employee, so this event was particularly unfortunate and sad for me. Still, through a series of incidents it had become clear that Tanya would not or could not abide by the store's most basic work rules. These are simple matters such as coming to work on time, and wearing a change apron at the counter. Tanya was in the process of moving from part-time hourly work to a full-time salaried position, so I was very concerned with the example her work provided to new employees. I had communicated my concerns to Tanya repeatedly.

On the day in question I found Tanya's brother visiting her behind the store's service counter. There is a clear store policy that the area behind the sales counter is for employees only. Another, more serious incident, had occurred earlier in the week so at this point I think Tanya knew that she was going to be fired. Before I had a chance to address the situation Tanya loudly ridiculed the store's work rules and me in front of a store full of customers. A short but very embarrassing and loud confrontation about the stores work rules ensued between us.

After taking a few minutes to collect my thoughts, I asked Tanya to leave the sales counter to discuss matters. We walked to the back of the store, completely through the store's back room and out the back door of the store. As we stood in the public hallway behind the store's rear exit, Tanya told me that she did not want to talk. Essentially, I was about to fire her and she knew it. I stood in the store's rear entrance to prevent Tanya from RE-ENTERING the store where our very public and humiliating confrontation had taken place. Tanya immediately realized I would not let her back onto the premises and she left through the building's exterior door which provides direct access to a busy pedestrian area. I made no attempt to follow her or prevent her departure. I had stood in the store's doorway only a very few seconds and at no time did I block the exit. There was never a point at which Tanya was trapped in a room. I assumed Tanya's work role at the sales counter and after about 15 minutes Tanya came back in and gave me a note that said she was quitting.

I am outraged that the editorial policy of this paper allows only delayed responses to this type of serious personal accusation.

It is perhaps an example of Olympia's unique political groupthink that two of my Olympia employees quit their jobs without allowing me the opportunity to describe the circumstances around Tanya's departure. I think it also says something about Olympia's political culture that my employees' work action seems clearly aimed at punishing me and the store rather than at the creation of a dialogue. I am reinforced in this view by Virginia's decision to have *Works In Progress* publish her article containing ugly and damaging accusations against me after I had sought mediation and it had been agreed to by the parties. There would clearly be another forum for discussing these matters.

In closing, it is important to say a few words about Bulldog News. The Bulldog, since its 1983 beginnings in a tiny store in the University District, has been committed to presenting the community with the widest possible array of political and social perspectives possible. There is only one point of view that has never been represented in our stores. That is the view of women represented in "Men's Sophisticate" magazine titles. (*Playboy, Hustler, Penthouse*, etc.) You will know that this is a serious commitment if I tell you that 30% to 50% of a traditional newsstand's magazine sales are in such titles, and that we stood firm in our policy when our largest magazine wholesaler said that they could allow us an extra 5% margin on almost all of our other major mainstream magazine titles (*Time, Newsweek, Life*, etc.) only if we added "Sophisticates". The other profit center which exists in almost all magazine stores except ours is tobacco products. I don't believe we are an "establishment" organization which doesn't deserve to have its side of the story told alongside other members of the community.

I have been involved in news organizations since the spring of 1970 when, as a student, I helped occupy and worked at KUOW while it became a voice of the student strike. I am a voracious newspaper reader as well as a seller. Fairness and accuracy do count, *especially* when a context is being established for expressing an opinion. Without a commitment to these standards all voices in a forum lose their credibility. These goals are not incompatible with "providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture". They are necessary for providing a credible voice. I will not be communicating again through this forum unless this paper takes a serious look at its editorial policies. I urge readers to contact me directly at the phone number and address below. I will be happy to discuss the issues raised here and any other matters regarding Bulldog News.

Phone: 547-2800
Address: Doug Campbell
4208 University Way NE
Seattle, WA 98105

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A Lesson For the Democrats?

Jerome Johnson

It is done: Bill Clinton has been elected 42nd President of the United States.

I must admit that while I am relieved that George Bush is unemployed (*now* he knows how the recession has affected "people of means)", I don't share the euphoria and flourishing optimism of some of my friends. I remember how Slick Willie won this election, and I shudder at the magnitude of the task facing him. It would not be easy even for God to heal the damage of the 12-year Reagan-Bush holocaust in only four years. Already, Bob Dole is grumbling that there will not be "a rubber-stamp Congress." That means that even though outnumbered, the Republicans will make their presence known with an eye to '94 and '96.

Bill Clinton wasn't my favorite candidate. However, through an unfair process of elimination, he came out as the one opposing Bush for the fall election. I didn't like the way he criticized Sister Souljah, and "distanced" himself from Jesse Jackson. I didn't like the way he "distanced" himself from the poor and working people, people of color, women (while showcasing Hillary), lesbians and gays, everyone who made up the traditional Democratic coalition and his support base. I was uncomfortable with his record on the environment, civil rights and labor issues. His foreign policy ideas paralleled the King's, and his law-and order pro-death penalty stance on crime scared the hell out of me.

As the campaign went on, and Slick Willie began to realize that it wasn't enough to court the middle and upper working classes (i.e. white suburbanites worried about Their Future); he needed the coalition. Soon there began to be lip services about health care, jobs, affirmative action, environmental issues, civil rights. Not enough to alarm "the middle class" --Clinton would not be held hostage by "special interests" (the majority of the people). Rather, the special interests would be his hostages: as the only viable alternative to Bush, he knew many of us would grit our teeth and punch the ballot for him.

A lot of people try to reassure me, saying that Clinton really is sensitive to our concern that things get better. After all, he *did* need to get elected before he could change things. I hope they're right, and that he won't have to campaign like that in '96.

As I write this, Clinton is facing his first serious issue as President two months prior to inauguration. There is a growing furor over his pledge to end discrimination and the ban against lesbians and gays in the military. The bigots are using the same arguments they used against women and people of color: unit "cohesion" will be undermined, disease will spread, discipline will fail, sexual assaults will occur. They cannot understand the truth: that for more than two hundred years, lesbians and gays have served with distinction in our services, and continue to do so. Unit cohesion is based on leadership, not sexuality. Disease is a threat to everyone. It is usually straight, "heroic" men who commit sexual assaults like those at the Tailhook Convention.

We've got to hold [Clinton's] feet to the fire -- push him to address our concerns constructively.

It's my hope that Clinton does not waver, and that he overturns the ban by executive order within days of taking office. It will not end discrimination overnight, but it will be a start, as a similar order by another Democrat was in 1948. We've got to hold his feet to the fire -- push him to address our concerns constructively. We've got to be there with him when the Republicans howl, stand with him, let him know that as long as he works with us we can withstand the frustrated Republicans whining for the good old days when men were men, women were slaves and minorities knew their place. For Bill Clinton's eye will be on 1996, and so must ours.

Jerome Johnson is the host of Up Front, *Wednesdays at 1 pm on KAOS, 89.3 FM.*

(Bulldog, continued)

I have also called it "physical intimidation". The part of the law that could be applied here states: "Sexual harassment is unwelcome advances, requests for sexual favors and verbal or physical conduct when...3) Such conduct has the purpose or effect of a) creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment: or b) interfering with work performance." The law also stipulates that it must be proven that the harassment was because of the sex (gender) of the employee.

There is the law, and then there is the fact that for many, many women some kind of harassment by men is a daily occurrence. Sometimes it involves physical intimidation or an assault because some men are bigger, taller or stronger than some women or because they use force - and sometimes the intimidation is psychological, because men are taught to act in more aggressive and controlling ways. Physical and psychological intimidation that reflects entrenched gender roles is something that cannot be overlooked or dismissed when we decide what constitutes harassment.

We who resigned believe it is undeniable that gender factored into both how Tanya was treated and why she felt threatened. We have taken into consideration comments Doug has made about Tanya and her own feelings about the incident in reaching this decision.

I have also been asked why mediation was stalled. As the DRC volunteer began the intake process on our conflict it became clear that Doug and I had different expectations as to who would attend the meeting. Doug felt that he had separate issues with other employees (including the manager at his Broadway store who has since resigned) that he felt more comfortable addressing individually.

My response to this is that this conflict effects all of his employees therefore as many as can attend should certainly be allowed to. They have a right to hear all the opinions expressed and come to their own conclusions. This also brings up another question - are there other problems at BullDog News?

I have heard many complaints from other employees on a variety of issues. As is often the case, when one or more people take action others begin to talk about their concerns. What we all have in common is not having the means to approach our employer with problems or any assurance that they will be addressed. This is why the potential list of demands includes the establishment of general grievance procedures. If they had been in existence at the time of this incident perhaps we would have felt we had a viable alternative to leaving our jobs. In the meantime, please write to Doug Campbell at the following address to express your concerns:

Bulldog News
4208 University Way NE
Seattle, WA 98105

New Boss, Old Policy?

Ron Jacobs

I've been hearing bits and pieces on the news lately about Bill Clinton and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. It seems they've been having what are termed "substantive" telephone conversations. Specifically, Mr. Fahd is a bit concerned about some shopping the government of Iran has been doing lately. Among its most recent purcnases are a nuclear powered sub, some big missiles, and a few other weapons of mass destruction that only armies friendly to the United States are supposed to own.

All I can say is, uh-oh, here we go again. In 1980, after Iraq invaded Iran in the wake of the Iranian revolution that toppled the Shah, the U.S., after years of clandestine arms sales to both sides, eventually sent warships to "protect" tankers carrying Saudi and Kuwaiti oil. Never mind the fact that Iraq was shooting at many more ships than Iran. Iraq was serving U.S. oil interests, and the Iranian revolution threatened them. As it turned out, the Saudi and Kuwaiti governments were actually paying for the Iraqi forces from their share of the oil profits. One reason Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, incidentally, was because Kuwait reneged on several billions it still owed Iraq for the protection services it provided during the Iran-Iraq war.

Iraq remains a crippled society with a man given to blustery threats and vengeful attacks on his opposition at its helm. Iran, on the other hand, seems to have survived its revolutionary excesses and tragic war with Iraq, and is now rebuilding its military. Ironically, one of the proclaimed benefits of the Gulf war of 1991 was a greater chance for peace in the middle east. Today, in addition to the arms purchases Iran is making, U.S. arms sales to Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other "allies" have tripled in the last 18 months. Besides these arms sales, Syria has tightened its control on Lebanon. Israel attacks that country's southern region while, at the same time, talking peace.

Where does Bill Clinton stand on all this? Well, if his public statements are a measure of his positions, he's standing almost on top of George Bush. His utterings on the subject eerily echo those of his predecessors. If he is not reminded by those in the peace movement who voted for him (which, if my friends are any indication, is a substantial number) that another war is not the answer, we may soon be in one.

If Mr. Clinton is truly going to redefine our national interests, it is up to us to remind him that those interests are not necessarily the same interests as those of big oil and its corporate cronies.

If Mr. Clinton is truly going to redefine our national interests, it is up to us to remind him that those interests are not necessarily the same interests as those of big oil and its corporate cronies. That is no small task. In order to match the influence their money has, we must involve ourselves in every facet of the public arena. Not only by opposing war and the policies which depend on it, but by developing an energy policy which is controlled by the people, and not the drive for ever higher rates of profit.

Ron Jacobs has relocated to Vermont, where he is "slowly getting involved."

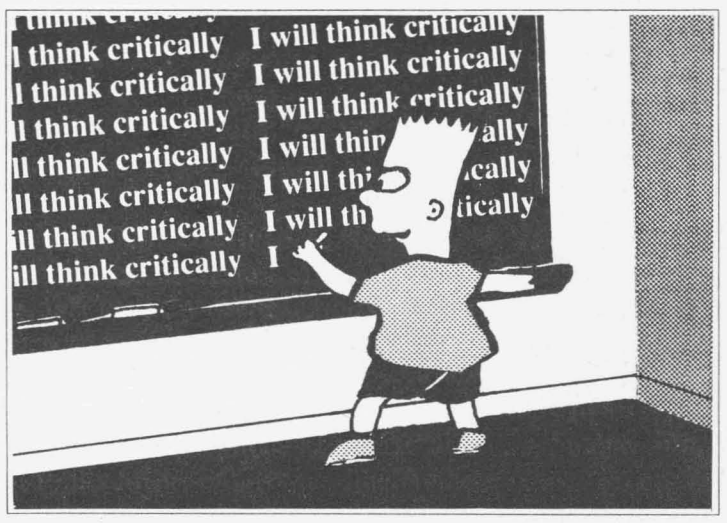
Confessions of a Thought Police

Judith McKenzie, MA

I admit it. I'm a Thought Police. And I love my job.

I'm just a kid from Montana, wondering what I've gotten myself into. I'm the pride of my mother's life, because I Teach College. I'm an *English* teacher, for Christ' sake - what could be more harmless than that?

Suddenly, it seems almost anything is more harmless, almost nothing more harmful. Suddenly, I'm the Thought Police.



On my campus, as on campuses across the country, Political Correctness (PC) has become an institution, and the anti-PC movement has reared its ugly head. Battle lines are being drawn. Nobody, as the song says, is right, if everybody's wrong. My colleagues scream invective, at each other, wagging fingers in each other's faces like participants in barroom debate. And here I am, the kid from Montana, right in the middle. Eek. Yipes. What to do?

Confession, it seems in this case, would be the better part of valor. So here I go. Yes, I admit it. I *am* a Thought Police. I watch, monitor, and even (horrors) *grade* what my students think.

And, to confess to the worst of possible crimes in the eyes of the anti-PC elite (hereinafter referred to as the Thought Police-Police, or TPP), I think it's *appropriate* that I do so. In fact, I'll go even further, I'll give you, here for all to see, my Thought Police Laws - laws my students (my arrestees? my perps? - having a hard time keeping this police-metaphor thing going - sorry) would be punished for breaking. Here they are:

1) Students must think.

2) Students must think *about difficult issues*.

3) Students must give up their pre-packaged McIdeas, and use *real evidence* to support their conclusions .

4) When students write, their writing must *make sense*.

5) When students write an opinion or assertion, their support must be rational and logical, and free of unfounded attacks on their opposition.

6) When students use evidence to support a conclusion, that evidence must be relevant.

7) If students critique an idea, that critique must be an **informed** one, free of unfounded assumptions.

So there it is - the New McCarthyism, according to those wagging fingers in my face. I ain't waggin' mine back. I refuse. And here's why - I haven't heard rational, well-supported, well-reasoned arguments free of unfounded assumptions and constructed with relevant evidence **from** the TPP. Most of them, in my advanced classes at least, would flunk.

To demonstrate that, let's look at the dominant arguments they use.

1) In order to learn to think critically, students must be free to criticize anything.

• Sorry, but this is backwards. If we tell students they are free to criticize anything, without **first** requiring them to base that criticism on solid information, we are just allowing griping. And we have enough of that. True critical thinking develops out of solid analysis of facts - then a student can offer an informed and effective critique - not just criticism.

2) To require students to think about certain issues is to require them to agree with a certain position on those issues, and that is unethical.

• Wrong again. The first does not necessarily imply the second. If, for instance, I require students to think about the moral justification for the Gulf War, I am not necessarily requiring them to take any particular position on that war. I am requiring them to look at evidence, use solid critical analysis in evaluating that evidence, and then draw a conclusion. That's all, folks.

3) Political correctness implies a pluralistic, multi-cultural approach to education, which undermines, denigrates, and negates the primacy of white European culture.

• Eek. (I'm tempted to leave my commentary at that, but since this is one of the most dangerous and insidious arguments of the TPP, I dare not.)

Heaven forbid we should critique Western culture.

What? Hmmm? I thought the freedom to critique any culture was what the TPP were after? What makes western European culture exempt from this? What, for heaven's sake, gives Western European culture *primacy*? Don't question this one, folks, the TPP will accuse you of thought-policing your students for allowing them to critique western thought. I'm afraid I'm lost, here their argument simply doesn't make sense - it goes in circles. That, in fact, is one of the principle logical fallacies Circular Reasoning.

That logical error stands in the way of good critical thinking - which these TPP say they want.

And, let's look at a frequently-used smaller piece of this argument - that the rising presence and requirement of courses studying other cultures on campuses across the country is an inappropriate movement, as it implies students must accept those cultures without criticism.

Do I really need to point out the logical error there? If the TPP want us to be free to critique other cultures, then, as I've stated, that critique (to be effective and intelligent) must be an **informed** one - we must know those cultures in order to intelligently critique them. But, you say, we do - we live in a pluralistic society.

students to draw their own conclusions and structure their own values.

• How? I've asked that question over and over of the TPP, and they have no answer. How in blue blazes does one present information in a values-free fashion? Anytime you use language, your choice of words, tone of voice, etc., all imply and communicate your values. The alternative is a silent classroom. Wouldn't we learn a lot **that** way. I agree that students need to construct their own conclusions and values - but they need to have the critical and analytical skills to do so effectively. If we do not insist on this, we leave them open to being manipulated by media, government, and anybody else who's slick with words...NOT the goal of a good education.

5) The political left is gaining dominance on campuses.

• So what? In order for this to be an argument against PC, the TPP need to provide evidence that this is harmful. I'm still waiting.

So, there we are. I confess. I am a Thought Police. And I love my job. I intend to keep doing it.

One of the reasons the TPP tell me I shouldn't keep doing things the way I am is that it stands in the way of academic freedom, it *requires a* certain political stance.

• In popular parlance - NOT!

Look, I want students to be able to think well when they leave my classes. Most of the major theorists who look at how people learn recognize that values play an important part in that process, and that the process of learning - of education - cannot be value-free. I accept their theories. That's my right, according to the principle of academic freedom.

Students must think. Students must think* about difficult issues. *Students must give up their pre-packaged McIdeas, and use* real evidence *to support their conclusions .

We don't. We live in a society with one dominant culture, which other cultures live alongside of. Example: a group of white students walk by a group of black students. Two of the black students are wearing T-shirts that say: "It's a Black thing - you wouldn't understand." The white students are miffed. They feel slighted. They say, "well, we could wear T-shirts saying 'It's a white thing,' etc....and it would be just as true." Unfortunately, not. Those black students have *lived in* white culture, so they have the information they need to think critically about it. The same cannot be said for those white students. Few, if any, have ever lived in black culture or Native American, or...
you get the drift.

When the TPP say that students should not feel that they have to be culturally/politically in line with their teacher, they mean that **white** students shouldn't have to be - students of color have had to deal with this for generations.

4) Education should be presented in a value-free fashion, allowing

I wish the TPP storming around my campus would look at those theories, but I cannot force them to. I have no obligation to improve their thinking comparable to the obligation I have to my students. The obligation to improve the thinking of teachers is their own.

I do, though, have that obligation to my students. In spades. Until the TPP come up with more logical arguments, I'm going to keep fulfilling that obligation. Until they exhibit clear critical analysis of the issues, they're wasting my time, indicting me for doing my job. I have real work to do - for my students. So, excuse me, I've gotta go put on my badge.

Judith McKenzie is a part-time faculty in English at South Puget Sound Community College, a published author of articles, poetry, essays, and one book, and a citizen deeply concerned about freedom of speech and thought.

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The WILD SIDE NATURE STORE

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Time is Short for Victims of INS Intimidation

Jonathan Moore

On August 20th, 1992, Oscar Uceda-Carcamo and Miguel Orozco-Delgado, a Salvadoran refugee and a Mexican refugee worker, were indicted in Seattle on charges of fraud and conspiracy in helping Salvadoran refugees in the U.S. get temporary refuge. Oscar Carcamo, a former employee of the Washington Association of Churches Central American Refugee Program (CARP), lives with his wife and two infant daughters. Miguel Orozco, who has a six year old son and a three year old daughter, is a former employee of Northwest Immigrant Legal Services. Both have been actively involved in helping Salvadoran refugees and other immigrants. Orozco is represented by attorney Cyrus Vance, Jr., and Carcamo by Allen Ressler.

The Committee for Justice for Carcamo and Orozco believes that the indictments are based on INS coercion of refugees.

The charges stem from their work in helping Salvadorans apply for Temporary Protected Status (TPS), a program created in 1990 allowing Salvadorans the United States before September 19, 1990, to remain and work legally for 18 months. Applicants had to prove they were in the US by that date. Both men are accused of falsely documenting client contact with their organizations.

If convicted, Oscar faces a maximum of 35 years in prison and Miguel faces 25, in addition to enormous potential fines. Because both are non-citizens, convictions could mean deportation and permanent exclusion from the United States, despite their family ties and community service.

The indictments follow a year-long inquisition by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and a federal grand jury, which included a controversial raid on the CARP office in the summer of 1991-- seizing their files and computer disks-- and threats by INS agents against TPS applicants 'have them deported' if they wouldn't cooperate. The raid and drawn-out investigation all but closed down CARP.

According to the *Seattle Times* (8/1/92), US Attorney Paula Bogus stated, "We've . . . found no evidence of wrongdoing on the part of either the Washington Association of Churches Refugee Program or Northwest Immigrant Legal Services." *The Times* also quoted John Boonstra, WAC Executive Minister, as saying that the refugees' cooperation was gained through threats of deportation, and that he remained critical "of the whole process by which these indictments were obtained." The INS finally singled out only the two non-citizens for prosecution.

The Committee for Justice for Carcamo and Orozco believes that the indictments are based on INS coercion of refugees. Plainclothes INS agents made calls and unannounced visits to work places and homes, reportedly telling Salvadorans that they were in danger of being deported if they didn't cooperate. While the US Attorneys' Office and the INS have had over a year to develop their case, the defendants are set for trial on November 30th.

According to attorney John Caughlan, a member of the Committee for Justice, and a Guild member, the defendants learned of the indictments through the newspapers--an extraordinary procedure--perhaps because the INS hoped the two would flee. The case is also unusual in that the witnesses who may testify are people who Miguel and Oscar assisted, and because there is no allegation of any material motive. Caughlan described the witnesses as refugees from a civil war, who live in fear of deportation by "la migra." With only minimal knowledge of both English and the US legal system, their own experience with authority in El Salvador confirms that survival depends on cooperation with the government. He described the witnesses as also being victims.

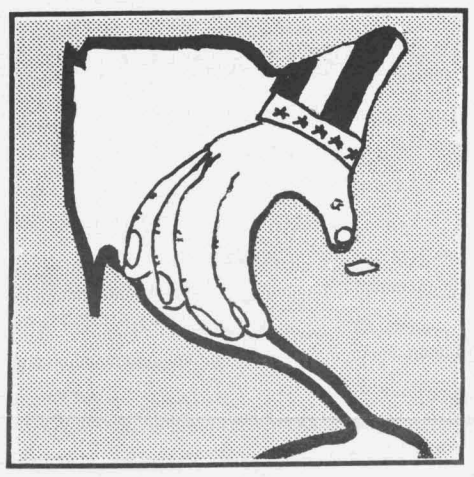
The 18-month TPS program for Salvadorans was passed by Congress in 1990, after almost eight years of struggle by a broad coalition opposed to the INS policy of jailing and deporting the Central-Americans. The INS' implementation of the TPS law was sharply criticized.

With a 6-month registration period ending on June 30th, 1991, the INS didn't publish final regulations until only five weeks remained. The rules required the TPS applicants to re-register every six months and pay additional fees each time. Despite Congressional intent that a reasonable fee should not exceed $50, the fee structure put into effect called for individual fees as high as $330 per person (later increased to $405). and $1,435 for a family of five. Others later granted TPS paid less. According to the *New York Times* (5/20/91)

"While Salvadorans are charged $405, immigrants from Kuwait, Lebanon, and Liberia pay only $50." NILS and others around the country charged that the fees were too high for the undocumented refugees that TPS was designed for, who had little money, and were aimed to discourage applications.

By May, 1991, near the end of the application period, protest and litigation forced a fee reduction. The INS' elaborate requirements for fee waivers for those unable to pay, including certified copies of tax returns, were described by Federal Judge David Levi in California as grotesquely unreasonable. The lack of clarity on the part of refugees, refugee workers, and even INS employees led to much confusion, and pressure. The application period was extended -- over INS opposition -- until October 31, 1991. National INS spokesman Duke Austin said, when you extend benefit programs like this, it only encourages the aliens to procrastinate. (*Seattle Times*, 7/8/91). In Seattle the INS raids, visits, phone calls and subpoenas cast an intimidating chill over the last months of the TPS application period.

The Committee for Justice For Orozco and Carcamo calls the prosecution politically motivated. The INS has a history of hostility to Salvadoran refugee work, throughout the 1980s. The Committee urges those interested in the case to attend a meeting or, to get in touch by calling 324-3500. Time is short. The futures of two good and decent men are at stake.



Pastors for Peace

Dear US-Cuba Friendship Supporter,

U.S. government officials plan to prevent the US-Cuba Friendship from donating powdered milk, medicine, school supplies, bicycles and Bibles to churches in Cuba. Judy Turner, a Houston-based Customs spokesperson, threatened to "detain them or arrest them," referring to Friendshipment drivers.

According to the reports, US customs officials plan to prevent the Friendshiment from crossing the border into Mexico, where plans have been made to ship the donations by freighter to Cuba.

The Friendshipment is a humanitarian mission that also confronts the political issues that create the need for humanitarian aid in Cuba. We call for an immediate end to the US blockade to Cuba and normalization of relations between our two countries. Without our political message, the Friendshipment would be simply a band-aid project. We do not wish to create dependency relations, but rather to foster economic independence for the Cuban people.

Friendshipment drivers are determined to complete our mission to Cuba, no matter what the consequences. But we need your help. Only an outcry from the American people will enable us to cross the border into Mexico and complete our mission in Cuba. We encourage you to do the following:

1) Call Richard Newcomb, director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, (part of the Treasury Department that administers the embargo) at 202-622-2510. Demand that the caravan be allowed to proceed and that the US end the embargo immediately. Also call your Senators and Representatives and encourage them to call Mr. Newcomb. Calls from a Senator or Representative to this office will be extremely important. While you're at it, encourage your representative to sponsor legislation in the coming year to rescind the embargo.

2) Write letters to your local media demanding an end to the embargo and calling for the US to allow the Friendshipment to pass.

3) Call for a public demonstration in your area.

4) Help with the national fundraising campaign to support the Friendshipment. Funds are badly needed to support the driving crew as we mount our struggle on the border. Checks can be made payable to IFCO-Pastors for Peace.

U.S. government officials plan to prevent the US-Cuba Friendship from donating powdered milk, medicine, school supplies, bicycles and Bibles to churches in Cuba.

On November 20th, the caravan drivers were stopped at the border. After deciding to carry across the materials, leaving behind, an unknown number of them were arrested. We need to be loud and make it clear that we will not tolerate the prevention of humanitarian aid to Cuban people, and especially that US policy toward Cuba is wrong and must be changed.

Update: At the time of WIP's printing, the Friendshipment drivers had been released and were proceeding to Mexico, from where supplies will be transported to Cuba.

Take a stand against racist government intimidation!

In Olympia, projects are being worked on in the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace to support Miguel and Oscar as well as the Friendshipment. Anyone interested in getting involved, please call Peter at 956-1771.

1992: The Year of the Troll
Groups Call Boycott of Chinese Toys

Zachary D. Lyons

The Toycott Coalition (Toycott) is asking American consumers to shop with their consciences this holiday season. The coalition has asked that consumers avoid purchasing toys made in China in order to pressure the Chinese government into addressing an extensive list of human rights atrocities with which the government is charged. The coalition, which consists of Tibetan human rights groups, Chinese democracy groups, the AFL-CIO and dozens of other organizations, wants American consumers to reconsider giving a toy to a child during the holiday season that is made in a country "that massacres it *own* children."

"The Chinese Government human rights atrocities are well documented by Amnesty International and Asia Watch," states Toycott spokesperson Michelle Cheng. "Tens of thousands remain imprisoned for political and religious beliefs. According to the International League for Human Rights, the Chinese Government is executing prisoners and selling their organs to Hong Kong hospitals. In addition, torture is routinely used against political and religious prisoners who cling to their moral convictions. Tibetan nuns have been sexually molested with electric cattle prods. On June 4th, 1991, Li Jie, a political prisoner from Jilin Province, was stripped naked and repeatedly shot with 5000 to 10,000 volts [from an] electric baton on his armpits, stomach, head and neck."

"There is little doubt that the Chinese government is sensitive to economic pressure," the Toycott Coalition reasons. "Each year China routinely releases high profile prisoners just weeks prior to congressional voting to renew China's most-favored-nation (MFN) trade status."

"Toys are among China's leading export items," Reports Toycott. "In the U.S., 55% of all dolls and 45% of all traditional toys are made in China. The loss of China's MFN status would mean large increases in customs duties for toys exported to the U.S. For this reason, Hong Kong and U.S. toy manufacturers are among the strongest lobbying forces for China's MFN status. In May 1992, the Hong Kong toy industry sent a special delegation to lobby Washington for unconditional renewal of China's MFN status.

The Toycott Coalition asks that "those who support human rights in China and Tibet to boycott toys made in China until human rights conditions are attached to most-favored-nation status and these conditions are met.

"These conditions must include that: all religious and political prisoners be released from Chinese prisons; all workers be allowed freedom of association; forced sterilization of Tibetan women be stopped, and the Chinese population transfer into Tibet be halted; a neutral task force such as the International Red Cross be permitted to tour suspected forced labor camps dealing in the manufacture of export products...; China adhere to the guidelines and parameters of The Missile Technology Control Regime (endorsed by the US, UK, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, and Japan...), and the controls adopted by the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Australian Group on Chemical and Biological Arms."

Wang Tianming, Minister Counselor for the Commercial Consulates Office of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China writes in response:

"Concerning boycotting toys with a made in China label by Toycott Coalition, we firmly oppose such action because [it] is harmful to thousands of American children who love and enjoy playing [with] Chinese toys. The allegations [of] this boycott are totally groundless.

"As you know, there are a lot of American toy companies which have investments in China in [the] toy industry. Such action will also harm the interest of the American investor in China.

"The quality of toys made in China [is] good and the prices are competitive. There is no where [else] to find the sources of supply of such nice toys if imports from China are banned.

"We hope your center will take [this] into consideration of this matter and educate the Toycott Coalition not to harm the interest of the American consumers and American toy companies."

> ***How can we buy our children toys from a government that massacres its own children?"***

But Toycott argues, "we selected toys because the children of the world are our future, and this future must be one in which human rights are respected by all. How can we buy our children toys from a government that recently exploded the *largest underground nuclear explosion* in history? How can we buy our children Christmas toys from a government that *imprisons Christians?* How can we buy our children toys from a government that massacres its *own* children?"

Michael Goldstein, Vice Chairman and Chief Financial & Administrative officer for the U.S.'s largest toy retailer, Toys 'R' Us, writes, "Toys 'R' Us supports democracy and human rights unequivocally. Toys 'R' Us condemns any violations and repressions of human rights whether in China or anywhere else in the world.

"Although Toys 'R' Us does not directly import toys made in China, Toys 'R' Us does purchase toys, principally from multi-national toy companies (mostly U.S. companies), that are produced in China. Most of the toys manufactured for U.S. companies in China are produced within that country's special economic zones, where the working conditions and hiring practices are comparable to those in other parts of the world. Over 300,000 people are currently employed by the toy industry in those special economic zones and hopefully the success of these economic zones will be a factor in the eventual reform and democratization of China.

"Toys 'R' Us will not purchase any products made by child or prison labor and this position is strongly adhered to by members of the TMA," Goldstein continues. "To the best of our knowledge there have been no instances of toy products being manufactured by child or prison labor in China and exported to the United States. Toys 'R' Us would not conduct business with organizations using child or prison labor to manufacture their products. At our meeting with [Toycott], Toys 'R' Us and the [Toy Manufacturers Association] will share with [Toycott] the steps taken to make sure that toy products exported from China are not manufactured by child or prison labor."

"We are not boycotting Toys 'R' Us," reiterates Toycott's Michelle Cheng. "However, Toys 'R' Us... sells a large quantity of toys made in China. They are also the largest toy store chain in the U.S. For this reason, their toy stores provide the perfect environment to leaflet American shoppers about the Toycott. During our leafletting campaign, Toys 'R' Us managers have frequently handed out the press leaflet of their own which attacks the Toycott. These Toys 'R' Us leaflets state that Toys 'R' Us does not use forced labor or child labor to manufacture toys in China. Of course this is not the issue. We are boycotting toys made in China to protest on going human rights atrocities committed by the Chinese Government. The children of the world are our future. And this future should be one in which human rights are respected by all. We also think it is ironic that at Christmas time, Americans will buy the most toys from a Government that rejects religious freedom for Tibetans and Christians. A recent article in the Chinese state run press noted the Church's role in the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. The journalist said, 'We must strangle the baby while it is still in the manger.'"

"Toys 'R' Us and the Toy Manufacturers of America have tried to position investment in China as a means to further democratic reform," Michelle Cheng of Toycott charges. "Toys 'R' Us' position is clearly represented in the articles that Mr. Goldstein sent *The Boycott Monthly*. These articles herald economic investment and the higher living standard of Chinese living in China's new economic zones."

But Cheng asserts, "the Toycott Coalition is not against business in China; we are against *business as usual* in China. The Toycott Coalition is not against... contacts with China; but we believe these contacts must send a message. We believe that the answer to oppression is not more investment. We encourage economic reforms in China, but we believe that these reforms must be accompanied by at least minimal progress in human rights.

"The American government's current China policy of 'constructive engagement' is the same philosophy once used to justify doing business with South Africa during apartheid. We have a responsibility to our children and the children of Tibet and China to not support Beijing's brutality. Deng Xiaoping once said, 'The West only cares about profits and not human rights.' The Toycott proves him wrong."

The Toycott Coalition will do informational picketting outside Toys 'R' Us stores across the U.S. on Friday, November 27, the start of the holiday shopping season. Toycott is focusing its campaign this fall on the popular Chinese made Troll dolls.

For more information, or to express your concerns, you may contact the Toycott Coalition, the Chinese Embassy and/or Toys 'R' Us as follows:

Toycott Coalition
c/o Support Democracy in China
Post Office Box 161588
Cupertino, CA 95016-1588
408-534-1868

The Embassy of the People's
Republic of China
2300 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008
202-328-2520

Michael Goldstein
Toys 'R' Us
461 From Road
Paramus, NJ 07652
201-599-6981

The Boycott Monthly *is written by Zachary D. Lyons and published by the Center for Economic Democracy (CED), PO Box 64, Olympia, WA 98507-0064. Subscription rates are $35US in the US, $40US in Canada, and $45US international for grocery cooperatives, non-profits and individuals for one year.*
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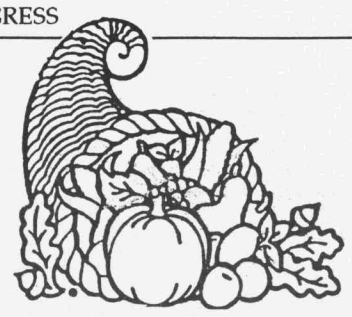
Liberty and Justice for all



Marvin Saillard

Dear Workers In Progress and WIP Readers:

"Because Henry George steeped the subject in the splendor of his soul, we hear in his words an irresistible call for Justice to all men" (Helen Keller).

"The poverty which in the midst of abundance pinches and embrutes men, and all the manifold evils which flow from it, spring from a **denial of justice.** In permitting the monopolization of the opportunities which nature freely offers to all, we have ignored the fundamental law of justice - for, so far as we can see, when we view things upon a large scale, **justice seems to be the supreme law of the universe.** But by sweeping away this injustice and asserting the rights of all men to natural opportunities, we shall conform ourselves to the law - we shall remove the great cause of unnatural inequality in the distribution of wealth and power; we shall abolish poverty; tame the ruthless passions of greed; dry up the springs of vice and misery; light in dark places the lamp of knowledge; give new vigor to invention and fresh impulse to discovery; substitute political strength for political weakness; and make tyranny and anarchy impossible" (page 545, PROGRESS AND POVERTY, 1879, by Henry George).

"We honor **Liberty** in name and in form. We set up her statues and sound her praises. But we have not fully trusted her. And with our growth so grow her demands. She will have no half service!

"Liberty! It is a word to conjure with, not to vex the ear with empty boastings. **For liberty means justice, and justice is the natural law** - the law of health and symmetry and strength, of fraternity and cooperation.

"They who look upon **liberty** as having accomplished her mission when she has abolished hereditary privilege and given men the ballot, who think of her as having no further relations to the everyday affairs of life, have not seen her real grandeur - to them the poets who have sung of her must seem rhapsodists, and her martyrs fools! As the sun is lord of life, as well as of light; as his beams not merely pierce the clouds, but support all growth, supply all motion, and call forth from what would otherwise be a cold and inert mass, all the infinite diversities of being and beauty, so is **liberty** to mankind. It is not for an abstraction that men have toiled and died; that in every age the witnesses of **Liberty** have stood forth, and the martyrs of **Liberty** have suffered.

"Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of **Liberty** yet beamed among men, but all progress hath she called forth" (page 547, PROGRESS AND POVERTY).

"...Shall we not trust her?

"In our time, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy **Liberty.** On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. **Liberty** calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have **liberty** to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or **Liberty** withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. **This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice, the social structure cannot stand"** (page 548, **PROGRESS AND POVERTY).**

"The recognition of individual proprietorship of land is the denial of the natural rights of other individuals - it is a wrong which must show itself in the inequitable division of wealth."

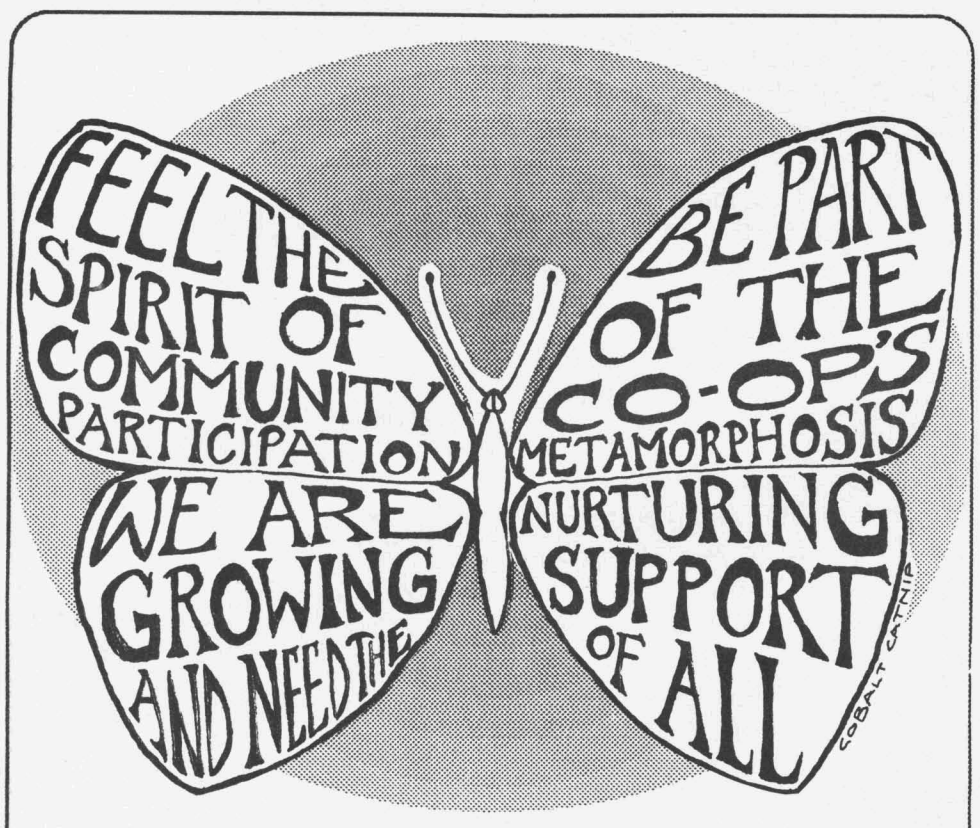
"If two men find a diamond, they do not march to a lapidary to have it cut in two. If three sons inherit a ship, they do not proceed to saw her into three pieces; nor do they agree that if this cannot be done, equal division is impossible. Nor yet is there no other way to secure the rights of the owners of a railway than by breaking up rail, engines, rolling stock and stations into as many separate bits as there are shareholders. And so it is not necessary in order to secure equal rights to land to make an equal division of land. All that is necessary to do is to collect rent-of-land for the common benefit" (pages 207 - 208, **SOCIAL PROBLEMS,** 1883, Henry George).

"Vice and misery, poverty and pauperism, are not the legitimate results of increase of population and industrial development; they only follow increase of population and industrial development **because land is treated as private property - they are the direct and necessary results of the violation of the supreme law of justice,** involved in giving to some men the exclusive possession of that which nature provides for all men.

"The recognition of individual proprietorship of land is the denial of the natural rights of other individuals - it is a wrong which must show itself in the inequitable division of wealth. **For as labor cannot produce without the use of land, the denial of the equal right to the use of land is necessarily the denial of the right of labor to its own produce.** If one man can command the land upon which others must labor, he can appropriate the produce of their labor as the price of his permission to labor.

"The fundamental law of nature, that her enjoyment by man shall be consequent upon his exertion, is thus violated. The one receives without producing; the others produce without receiving. The one is unjustly enriched; the others are robbed. **To this fundamental wrong we have traced the unjust distribution of wealth which is separating modern society into the very rich and the very poor.** It is the continuous increase of rent the price that labor is compelled to pay for the use of land, which strips the many of the wealth they justly earn, to pile it up in the hands of the few, who do nothing to

(Continued next page)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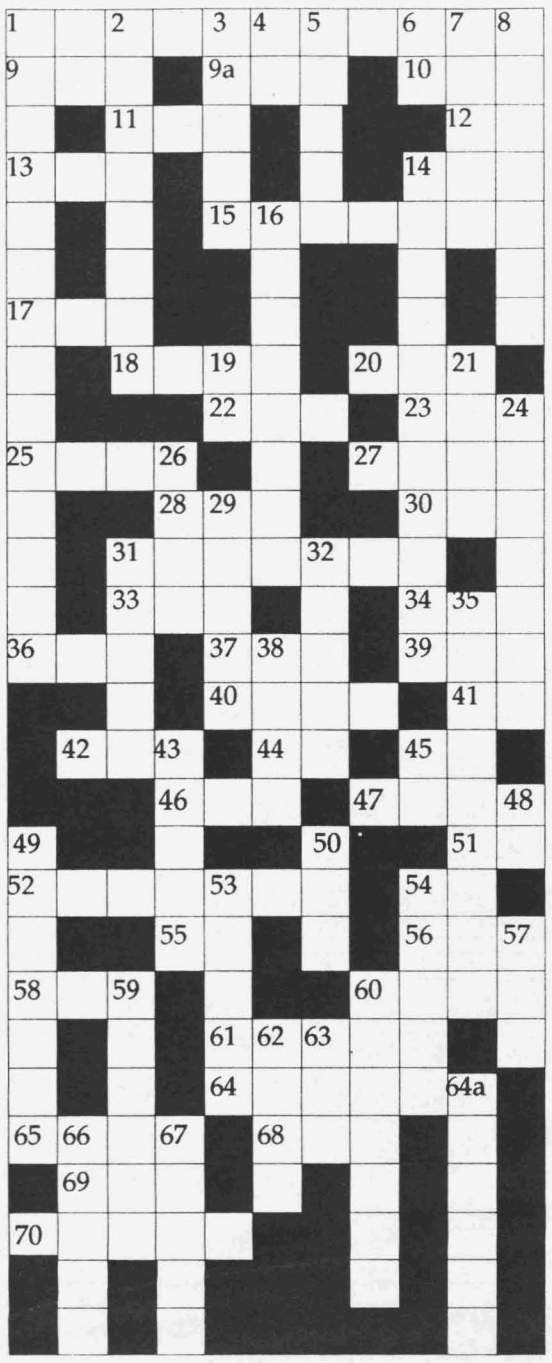
The Funky WiP Crossword



Solution next month

by Jerome Johnson

Across

1. Clinton Transition Coordi nator
9. Raw material
9a. Formal wear
10. Isle, in France
11. Tree type
12. Laser-disk (abbrev.)
13. Status ___
14. Military Intelligence Watch Facility (init.)
15. Former State Dept. Official
17. "____ It Now"
18. Cracker
20. Confederate general Stuart
22. Robin of Locksley's weapon
23. _____ vs. Wade
25. Entrance
27. Household cleanser
28. "___ Clear Day, You Can See Forever" (2 words)
30. Oregon Citizen's Alliance, (init.)
31. The 42nd President
33. Former export
34. Emergency Medical Technician, (init.)
36. ____ Paulo, Brazil
37. "Green Eggs & ___"
39. Our star
40. Norse Thunder God
41. Ryan, to loved ones
42. Rock group
44. Either, ____
45. Christian Era, (abbrev.)
46. Inquiry
47. Sound
51. Exclamation of pain
52. Local Restaurant (2 words)
54. You, in German
55. Theresa's nickname
56. Painful body part
58. Neither, ____
60. Captain Hook's First Officer
61. Songstress Marilyn
64. Staunch Republican
65. Old clothes
68. National Notarist Note, (abbrev.)
69. Bad, in France
70. McCoy's nickname

Down

1. 16th-century terrorists
2. NATO strategy, (abbrev.)
3. Swagger
4. You, in French
5. Hunger-fighting organization
6. Hawaii, (abbrev.)
7. _____ Island, NY
8. Oregon civil rights activist (2 words)
14. Progressive magazine (2 words)
16. Southwest native
19. Tuberculosis, (abbrev.)
21. British Overseas Airways Corporation, (abbrev.)
24. Precisely
26. Candy
29. Crystal ___; Germany, November, 1938
31. Actress Glenn
32. Asian Nation
35. Georgia College
38. Seagoing hail
43. Perspiration
45. KAOS Rapper Claire
48. See 51 Across
49. Songstress Sinead
50. Soft drink
53. Retiring TESC professor
54. Actor/comedian Wayans
57. To mend
59. The 40th President
60. Winfield-Tyson film
62. City University of New York, (abbrev.)
63. Cable News Network, (abbrev.)
64a. African Nation
66. Oil Company
67. Repose

Tide Swells

In the industrial area of town, just south of Fifth Avenue, a shop bustles with the news of a satisfying election. After days the excitement continues to pervade the gloom of Autumn. With Thanksgiving just a few weeks off, folks prepare themselves for a rigorous family experience.

Stepping out of the hardware shop a young man clutches a small brown box. The yellow receipt envelopes the box rumpled by stiff fingers. Leaning forward the man catches his nose in a blue handkerchief. With a steady blow and a mopping motion his head is made clear.

Trudging north through the light rain, he passes window after window filled with expensive office chairs. Looking them over he scuffs his rubber boots. He takes a turn around the corner and walks west towards the water. Just before dark he perches in his old school chair. He watches gulls pick through the muck as the tide swells and wonders about all the soft chairs in the world.

-Birch Shapiro

earn it.

"Why should they who suffer from this injustice hesitate for one moment to sweep it away? Who are the landholders that they should thus be permitted to reap where thy have not sown" (pages 341-342, **PROGRESS AND POVERTY)?**

"The way taxes raise prices is by increasing the cost of production, and checking supply. But land is not a thing of human production, and **taxes upon rent-of-land cannot check supply.** Therefore, though a tax on rent compels the landowners to pay more, it gives them no power to obtain more by the use of their land, as it in no way tends to reduce the supply of land. On the contrary, by compelling those who hold land on speculation to sell or let for what they can get, **a tax on land values tends to** increase the competition between owners, and thus to **reduce the price of the land"** (page 416, **PROGRESS AND POVERTY,).**

"The value of land does not express the reward of production, as does the value of crops, of cattle, of buildings, or any of the things which are styled private property and improvements. It expresses the exchange value of monopoly. **It is not in any case the creation of the individual who owns the land; it is created by the growth of the community. Hence the community can take it all without in any way lessening the incentive to improvement or in the slightest degree lessening the production of wealth.** Taxes may be imposed upon the value of land until all rent is taken by the State, without reducing the wages of labor or the reward of capital one iota; without increasing the price of a single commodity, or making production in any way more difficult" (pg. 413, PROGRESS AND POVERTY).

"The tax upon land values is, therefore, the most just and equal of all taxes. It falls only upon those who receive from society a peculiar and valuable benefit, and upon them in proportion to the benefit they receive. **It is the taking by the community, for the use of the community, that value which is the creation of the community.** It is the application of the common property to common uses. When all rent is taken by taxation for the needs of the community, then will the equality ordained by Nature be attained. No citizen will have an advantage over any other citizen save as is given by his industry, skill and intelligence; and each will obtain what he fairly earns. **Then, but not till then, will labor get its full reward, and capital its natural return"** (pg. 421, PROGRESS **AND** POVERTY).

"Can it be that the gifts of the Creator may be thus misappropiated with impunity? Is it a light thing that labor should be robbed of its earnings while greed rolls in wealth - that the many should want while the few are surfeited? Turn to history, and on every page may be read the lesson that such wrong never goes unpunished; that the Nemesis that follows injustice never falters or sleeps! ...We cannot go on permitting men to vote and forcing them to tramp. We cannot go on educating boys and girls in our public schools and then refusing them the right to earn an honest living. We cannot go on prating of the inalienable rights of man and then denying the inalienable right to the bounty of the Creator" (pages 551-552, PROGRESS **AND** POVERTY).

How can family values, or liberty in form only, save our society as long as our society subscribes to such basically immoral property values? If we ignore the natural moral law of justice in economics, no amount of stress on liberty, or on law and order, will save us from our self-destruction.

Marvin Saillard is a member of the Washington State Georgist Association., which is a chapter of Common Ground - USA.

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Last Month's Solution

photo by Paul Ortiz

(Picket, continued)

farm workers on their long journey from Yakima Valley the 24th. Contributions from Thurston-Lewis Labor Council, Olympia Food Co-Op, Batdorf and Bronson's, Blue Heron Bakery and the Evergreen Political Information Center, symbolized the growing community support for the farm workers' struggle in Washington state.

The boycott is bringing public scrutiny to the oppression that tens of thousands of farm workers in Washington face daily. The pressure of a labor boycott might even convince agribusiness to think twice before abusing workers' rights.

For instance, in September, CSM settled a discrimination case filed by current and former vineyard workers who alleged they had fired, harassed, and cheated out of normal work hours for trying to organize.

The settlement show that public concern and solidarity with farm workers can make a real difference. As part of the settlement, Ste Michelle must deliver a written apology to the 31 plaintiffs, offer to reinstate fired organizers, and pay $120,000 in damages.

Moises Garcia, an elected union representative fired at Ste Michelle, called this "a victory for Washington farm workers who try to organize a union and improve their working conditions." Martin Chavez, also fired after he organized vineyard workers to protest harassment, stated that "It is unfair and discriminatory to continue to deny the basic right of collective bargaining to the state's Latino farm workers. We call on consumers throughout the country to boycott Chateau Ste Michelle's wines until they bargain with their workers."

If you missed the picket on the 24th there are a number of things you can do to help the farm workers. Challenge restaurants and stores you patronize to honor the boycott of Chateau Ste Michelle. The Asterisk & Cheese Library in Olympia are fine examples of restaurants that made the right decision during a recent wine list change.

Call Alaska Airlines, the single largest purchaser of CSM wines and express your displeasure at 1-800-828-9328. You can also write to Allan Shoup at Chateau Ste Michelle, One Stimson Lane, Woodinville, WA 98072. CSM's phone number is 488-1133. You will receive the company's propaganda, but Shoup and U.S. Tobacco will know that one more person honors the boycott.

The United Farm Workers of Washington State continues its struggle to build a union in the fields of Washington state. In September, the union interceded in two strikes in Eastern Washington and won better wages and grievance procedures for farm workers. In the Chateau Ste Michelle vineyards in Patterson, workers wear CSM boycott shirts. Can the union survive in the face of organized resistance from multi-national corporation such as U.S. Tobacco? Part of the answer depends on you!

Call Paul Ortiz at 754-4733 for more boycott information.

Paul is a member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace and does a labor/social issues radio Program Thursdays at 1:00 on KAOS. 89.3 FM.

In The Way Of The World

by Ron Austin

Long arms extending over the shapes
dividing this distance by cities
or colonies or continents

Long arms carrying a broken bagged grocery trip
turned to rain
holding all of you close

And there rolls the mayonnaise
away, away

Long arms growing weary with my trek
over the dirt road
across the alley to my home
in this city
on this continent
I was born in

Sometimes too tired to write
or remember even the name of a camping trip
where I met someone I truly loved
that whole day

Long arms arranging purchases
safely in the frig or cupboard
by importance or proximity or accessibility

Long arms folding the recyclable bag
wet
torn
not even a container

-- make it a letter and send it away.

-Boü

A Song for the Morning Sun

Staring at these black hills
geese flying towards the north land
their sounds pierce the morning air
so beautiful
so peaceful
then the shots
at first they sound
like distant thunder
but soon become
the sounds of death
that they really are
voices once honking
are momentarily silenced
but as always
the survivors continue
their voices singing
as they fly
over ancient mounds
towards the morning sun

G.W. Galbreath

WIP Schedule

WIP Article submission deadline is Wednesday December 16
Also on that day, there will be a meeting at SPEECH at 7 pm. Speech is 218 Fourth Ave. Call 956-9123 for info.

Proofreading Meeting
Wednesday, December 23
at 7 pm at the Olympia Timberland Library

Policy Meeting
Tuesday Dec 1 and Jan 5
@ 7 pm Call 357-4705 for place.

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